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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES & PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

A NEW EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, NEAT ENGRAVINGS, &c. ADAPTED TO THE WORK.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY JOHN PILLANS, JAMES'S COURT,
FOR THOMAS NELSON.

1820.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS second chapter includes the space of fifty-five years; namely, the last fifteen years of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had already reigned twenty-three, with which the other fifteen make thirty-eight; and forty-eight years more, being the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

SECTION I.

THE FOUR VICTORIOUS PRINCES DIVIDE THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO AS MANY KINGDOMS.

AFTER the battle of Ipsus[a], the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine; Cassander had Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest of Asia to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which he was followed by his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however,

a Plut. in Demet. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 573.

not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

The four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy †.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the legal partition. These prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, "four stood up for "it." But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal

* "And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven," Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8.—God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power," Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

† "After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it," Dan. vii. 6.

dignity till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorised and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power. These four kings are, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretells. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation that was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

[b] Onias, the first of that name, and high-priest of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who, for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was surnamed the Just. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

[c] Seleucus, after the death of Antigonus, made himself master of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father or his son,

b Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

c A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capital of the East for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

[d] Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the rest; the first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria; where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and from thence embarked for Greece, his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely surprised and offended, when he was met in his way by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings; they also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lysimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion

d Strab. l. xvi. p. 650.

of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themselves formidable anew.

Lysimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters, named Arsinoe; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

[e] This double alliance between Lysimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents *, were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended her days. Demetrius

[e] A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demet. p. 903.
[f] A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298.
* One million two hundred thousand crowns.

having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, besides his new conquests in Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shews that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed [f].

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he sailed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned: for as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity, which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law in the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

[g] Cassander died about this time of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine years, from the

[f] Chap. i. ver. 9, 10.

[g] A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297.

death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left the crown to be contested by his two brothers.

[h] Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolters, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus, his great-uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought in the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius, even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

h Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383.—385.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting-exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share of Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his favourite consort, in preference to several young princes, who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip, her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

[i] Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities which had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. [k] A fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, sent by king Ptolemy to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and fled.

i A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demet. p. 904, 905.
k A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction; but he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them, at the same time, with one hundred thousand measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight: After which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; five hundred of the enemies were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The first was, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place

had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife, and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom, and to dismiss them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resources, or hopes for the future.

SECTION II.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO SONS OF CASSANDER. DEMETRIUS PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

No prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or even experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter where he had not the least room to expect it.

[1] In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him, by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of

1 A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts, till at last Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true or contrived, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Thessalonica, and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before, by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

[m] Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia on the banks of the Tigris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by six hundred thousand persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country; and the branch of that river, which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so incommodious, that, as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who, at a time when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it

[m] A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738, et 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. [n] I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

[o] Simon, surnamed the Just, and high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the functions of it for the space of fifteen years.

[p] I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who, believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above an hundred thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then; and Ptolemy Philopater did not build one of forty benches till many years after this period *; but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

[q] Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus was carrying on the same operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended ex-

n Vol. II. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

o A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

p A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. Plut. in Demetr. p. 909. et. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

q A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287.

* This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred sailors, beside four thousand rowers, and near three thousand soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck.—Plut. in the life of Demetrius.

pedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects, of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared, with an an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp, and superb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his fleet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so imperious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech, or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius *, he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and

* A river of Upper Macedonia.

which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under the pretext that he wanted leisure to hear her. "Be "no longer king then," replied she with some emotion; and Philip from thenceforth made it a maxim with himself, to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSIBLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE *.

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard? "Yes, my lord," replied one of the company, "and we should have added a "great deal more, if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander †, but a good matron of Larissa, in

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτως τῶ βασιλεῖ προσήκον, ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον.

† A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him, which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city.—Lucian. advers. induct. p. 552, 553.

whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer perhaps not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him the aspect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him; but with respect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that the Macedonians, who entertained such prejudices in his favour, and so advantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus; and one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interest by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love; that is the most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

[r] As Lysimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them; but this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions; for, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains so near, and which might prove so commodious to them? This was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable, from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin, to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least

r Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

regard to justice. Again, continues the same author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or transient suspension of their unjust views?

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise, and more impunity. May Heaven grant that those complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose, and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprises, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's disgust of Pyrrhus, and inflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully in chusing a stranger for their master, whom interest and not affection had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, kings have no reason to blame other persons, for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as, in acting so, they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learned from their whole conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity, and faith, in the observance of engagements.

[s] With respect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himself deserted by his troops, retired to the city of Cassandria, * where his consort Phila resided. This lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs,

s Plut. in Demet. p. 910, 911.

* A city on on the frontiers of Thrace, and in upper Macedonia.

had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was becoming more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to about eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

[t] Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; by which means he at last made himself master of Sardis; but, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route, was to surprise Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him closely, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over Mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and entreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and dispatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented

t Plut. in Demet. p. 912—915.

itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without incurring many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of Mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity; but if he should not be inclined to grant him that favour, he entreated his consent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design he had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his diffidence; and he consented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Catonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprise Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design time enough to prevent its effect; and the desertion of Demetrius' troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but

he found the passes so well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to Chersonesus of Syria, near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniences of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow, and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release; offering, at the same time, his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal; and, in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called Conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy, and no longer amused himself with his former exercises; he grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with design to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at

the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatus, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECTION III.

PTOLEMY SOTER RESIGNS HIS KINGDOM TO HIS SON PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA FOUNDED.

PTOLEMY Soter [u], the son of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the style of king, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus *, one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, surnamed Ceranus, or the Thunderer; who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father.

But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, so exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age, he resolved to have him crowned in his own life-time, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the next section.

Ptolemy Ceranus quitted the court, and retired to Lysi-

u A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Justin. l. xvi.

* The word signifies, a lover of his brethren; but Ptolemy received this surname agreeably to a figure of speech called Antiphrasis, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed.—Pausan. l. i. p. 12.

machus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

[x] In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was also the first year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was usually called the Tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the edifice I have mentioned before *. Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.

[y] Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus [z], surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

x Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in Φάρος.

y A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 83, et 84. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31.

z Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

* Vol. I. In the history of Egypt.

[a] Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophical studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began to give them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors. [b] His son Philadelphus left an hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death; and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of seven hundred thousand volumes.

[c] This library was formed by the following method. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents, equal to fifteen thousand crowns, for the originals which he kept.

As the Musæum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it three hundred thousand volumes.

[d] In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes. Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased *, when speaking

a Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095. Euseb. in Chron. c Galen. d Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. xiii. p. 202.

* Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiæ regum curæque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa

of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wise attention for the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding those magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Antony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first; and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burned by the Saracens, when they took that city, in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

[e] John, surnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria when it was taken: and as he was much esteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he entreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or Emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he would not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly wrote to Omar, the then Khalif, whose answer was, That if those books contained

luxuria: imo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant—Paretur itaque librorum quantum sit nihil in apparatum—Senec. de Tranquill. Anim. c. ix.

e Abul-Pharagius, in Hist. Dynast. IX.

the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any further examination: and, to that effect, were distributed into the public bagnios, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this estimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burned with its library. Strabo[f] acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate together at the expence of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that he would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be

f Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

[g] We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He consulted him, preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. [h] This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on his abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which, it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

[i] Toward the close of this year, died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses, and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow

g Plut. in Demet. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demet. Phal. h A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 285. i A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. [k] And when some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, "That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching "others, not himself."

SECTION IV.

MAGNIFICENT SOLEMNITY, AT THE INAUGURATION OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, KING OF EGYPT.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenus the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Mountfaucon relates it in his Antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give should appear unseasonable or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare beforehand, that the relation will be something tedious.

[l] This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the Circus of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had each of them a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgement may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

k Plut. in Apoph. p. 881.

l Athen. l. v. p. 197—203.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni came a band of satyrs, composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, steaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were adorned with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple vests, each of them supporting a golden vase, of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty satyrs wearing crowns of gold, which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right hand of each, was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six feet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very amiable woman as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held in one hand a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris *.

The next in the procession was the Genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguished, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits.

* This word signifies the space of five years, because, at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these were seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the Athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed these. It had four wheels *, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by an hundred and eighty men. In this chariot was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of saffron-colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Laconic manner, and containing fifteen measures, called Metretes †. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit-trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vans ‡.

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns composed, some of serpents, others of branches of yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nysa, sitting ||, twelve feet high, and clothed with a yellow

* All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

† This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds most with the Roman Amphora, but was somewhat larger, it contained nine gallons.

‡ Mystica Vannus lacchi.—Virg.

|| She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines that were not touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-six feet long, and twenty two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty Satyrs trod the grapes to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot throughout the whole progress.

Another chariot, of the same magnitude, was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a fat of a prodigious size, made of leopards' skins sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine during the procession.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned satyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver fat, containing six hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great fats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least five: there were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more

of six; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphic tripods, all of silver, and something less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six breakers, sixteen flaggons, and an hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six metretes, and the smallest two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which, called Laconics, were crowned with vine-leaves: there were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight metretes; a wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed; two other vases, each of which contained five metretes, and two more that held a couple of measures: twenty-two vessels for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least one: four golden tripods of an extraordinary size: a kind of a golden basket, intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height: two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten breakers: an altar four feet and an half high, and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage marched sixteen hundred youths, habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels made to keep liquors cool.

After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a chariot thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this

was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine-leaves: several pigeons, ring doves, and turtles, issued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains, likewise, one of milk and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus to the Indies, was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown intermixed with twining ivy and vine leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vests and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came one hundred and twenty satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by oryges, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches, and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers were crowned with branches of pine, and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves.

Some of their camels carried three hundred pounds weight of incense; others two hundred of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants' teeth; another, two thousand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by an hundred and fifty men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared an hundred and thirty sheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Eubœa; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a cameleopard *, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown, embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy, with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these, was a great vase filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia, with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thrysus, an hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and a silver lance eight feet long.

* This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace.

"Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo."

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band, marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were all adorned with a collar, and an Ægis * hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thousand pieces of gold †, each containing four drachms.

In this procession were likewise three hundred golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burned; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and an half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, having six feet in their altitude; and there were six others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; several animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference; a double horn, twelve feet long;

* A kind of buckler which covered the breast.

† The Attic Stater, usually called χρυσος, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this single crown amounted to an hundred thousand French livres, which are about five thousand pounds Sterling.

a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a consecrated crown, containing an hundred and twenty feet, undoubtedly, in its circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins, richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high. On this latter was the representation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; with an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; sixty-four complete suits of golden armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and an half in length; twelve basons; a great number of flaggons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve beakers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables; all these were of gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets; and an horn of solid gold, forty four feet in length. All these golden vessels and other ornaments were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots laden with vessels, and others works of silver; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand six hundred foot, and twenty three thousand horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued for some days after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ, about three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred pounds sterling; from whence some judgement may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence, shall I call it religious, or ra-

ther theatrical and of the comic strain? exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the sight of it in all its parts would have proved insupportable to him; and am inclined to think he would have thought and spoken like the Emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age *.

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Catiline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans, his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw "out," says he, "and torment their gold and silver by all "imaginable methods," (I must entreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation), "and yet this excess of prodigality is "incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches." "Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant †; tamen summa "libidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt." In such profusions as these did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and a waste of such immense treasure

* Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompæ, non reticuerit merito se plecti, qui triumphum—tam inepte senex concupisset.—Sueton. in Vespas. c. 12.

† These metaphorical terms, "trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt," may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming her riches.

in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to public view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion, converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners, by presenting to their view all the utensils of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would exact, or so much as suffer, so scandalous a pomp in their worship!

SECTION V.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. DEATH OF DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

Ptolemy Philadelphus[m], after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to say, Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. [n] But at last the bite of an aspic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

m A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.
n Diog. Laert. in Demet. Cic. in Orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

The testimonies in his favour, of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government: we therefore shall only consider what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places *, were sweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwise not dignified to any great degree with rich sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the sallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgement, this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius.

* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest; disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere.—Offic. l. i. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quam palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis—Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; et tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus.—De Clar. Orat. n. 37. et 38.

Athens, till his time *, had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty, without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and lanquishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains survived Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by treaties and confederations: and as they were now advancing to the period of their days, for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age, one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. [o] The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother Cerau-

o Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.

* Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; et ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus, nitor—Hic, Phalereus, primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit.—De Clar. Orat. n. 36.—38.

nus and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.

p Before he engaged in this enterprise, he resigned his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate; and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the inquietude of a father, who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age, whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her consort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion. Such, for instance, as a suppression of voice; burning blushes; suffusion of sight; cold sweat; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his

p Plut. in Demet. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126.—128.

inquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice, his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it; he added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts, in such a conjuncture; particularly the respect due from him to a father and a sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a design he ought never to be desirous of gratifying; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing: And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next inquiry after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and "I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of ano-"ther." "And will you not part with her, then," replied the king, "to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? "Is this the friendship you possess for me?" "Let me en-"treat you, my lord," says Erasistratus, "to imagine your-"self for one moment in my place, would you resign your "Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a fa-"ther, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare "of a son so dear to you, how can you expect another should "do it?" "I would resign Stratonice and my empire to "him, with all my soul," interrupted the king. "Your "majesty then," replied the physician, "has the remedy in "your own hands; for he loves Stratonice." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort; after which, his son and

that princess were crowned King and Queen of Upper Asia. [q] Julian the apostate relates, in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus would not espouse Stratonice till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shows us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart to an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of life.

[r] Seleucus, being now eased of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He therefore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia Minor. All the country submitted to him as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysimachus.

[s] This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia *, but was defeated and slain; in consequence of which, Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure †, on this occasion, resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use; and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the Conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria, of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph on this occasion was of no long continuance, for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was

q In Misop.

r Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. 9. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 3.—23. Polyæn. 4. 9.

s A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

* Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls Κορυπέδιον, instead of Κυροπέδιον, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

† Lætus ea victoria Seleucus, et quod majus ea victoria putabat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum manus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum.—Justin. l. xvii. c. 2.

basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations; for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the same forces for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villany to conspire against his benefactor, whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of King was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the era of the Seleucidæ commences.

[t] A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding it to the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government, but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the lifetime of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, who has been my usual guide, and who assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king; but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

t Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres.

[u] He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace, while his sister Arsinoe and the children she had by Lysimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and seemed desirous of espousing her; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arsinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plausible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and, in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arsinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than her own. She therefore consented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoe felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the public places and private houses, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen but altars, and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both prin-

u Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2.—4.

ces of admirable beauty, and majestic mien, advanced to meet the king with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons as the completion of all her calamities.

[x] Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the minister of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they dispatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceedingly happy in purchasing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus *, king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was unaffected at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of

x A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Justin. l. xxiv. et xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643.—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. Hymn. in Delum, et Schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Ταλαται.

* Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis et incompositis, quasi bella non difficilius quam scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatis, occurit.—Justin.

himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added, with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe under the ensigns of Alexander.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by deputation, in case he would purchase it; but, conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls; and we may from hence observe the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes; he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls, who, after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and shewed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop; but this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon the intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a

resolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but, in all probability, he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

[y] This desertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops which had been posted there, to defend that important pass; till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire, and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the

y A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

troops under his command; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that "the gods ought in reason "to impart some of their riches to men, who had more oc- "casion for them than themselves, and employed them in a "better manner." [z] Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events; for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic * the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemy, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally: when he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops;

z Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6.—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652.—654.

* The ancients thought these kinds of terrors were infused into the mind by the god Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

and as they were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season; in a word, as they were constantly harassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and that miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as miraculous interposition. It is certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving into the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety, and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable, for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves, but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have, through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer light by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the

Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the Pagans themselves: By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissoluteness of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

[a] Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people; and St Jerom, above six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared, that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia, or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no further mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece, with entire destruction.

[b] After the death of Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of De-

a Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 16.
b A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. Memnon apud Phot. c. 19.

metrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne; but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, and in consequence Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable possessor, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

[c] Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.

SECTION VI.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS CAUSES THE BOOKS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TO BE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK.

THE tumult of the wars [d] which diversity of interest had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy

c A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275.
d A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judæa in his time; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachms * a-head to their masters for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents †; which makes it evident, that one hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The King then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers, and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorised to translate that copy into the Greek language.

* About ten shillings. † About sixty thousand pounds.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version *. The whole was afterwards read, and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which was for themselves, others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended, that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. [n] Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense or style in which they were couched was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the Spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and after him the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that

n Philo. de vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 658.

* It is called the Septuagint, for the sake of the round number seventy, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning, and would therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it was also by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which renders the scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious, and correct language that ever was spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECTION VII.

THE VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PYRRHUS. HE IS SLAIN AT THE SIEGE OF ARGOS.

PYRRHUS [f], when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following, from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new affairs.

[g] The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes towards Epirus, and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. the Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been

f Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1. 2.
g A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

most successful in deriving, from so excellent a school, the solid principles and best maxims of true politics. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negociations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, "that the eloquence of an enemy is no "less prevalent than his sword." And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for his person, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an estimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admited to take place.

Cineas, perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. "Your Majesty "intends," said he, "to march against the Romans; should "the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what "advantage would you derive from your conquest?" "Were "the Romans once subdued by my arms," replied Pyrrhus, "all Italy would then be ours." "Supposing ourselves mas- "ters of that country," continued Cineas, "how should we "proceed next?" Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, "Sicily will then present itself to us, and you "know the importance of that island." "But will our expedi- "tions," added Cineas, "end with the conquest of Sicily?" "No, certainly," replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion; "can we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are "pleased to crown us with success, these would be only pre- "ludes to more glorious enterprises. Carthage, with all "Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in "Greece, shall be part of our future conquests." "And "when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose "of ourselves?" "Dispose of ourselves! we shall live at our "ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable con- "versation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves." "Ah! my Lord," interrupted Cineas, "and what prevents "us now from living at ease, making of feasts, celebrating "festivals, and enjoying all your Majesty has mentioned? "Why should we go so far in search of an happiness already

" in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy " without the least trouble?"

This discourse of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered this reflection of Cineas, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his Thoughts, wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and that of all the world calls diversion or pastime. " The soul," says that great man, " discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with con- " tentment. Whatever she beholds there, afflicts her when " she considers it sedately. This obliges her to have recourse " to external enjoyments, that she may lose in them the re- " membrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her " joy; and to render her miserable, it suffices to oblige her " to enter into, and converse with herself."

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of example; after which he adds the following remarks: " When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live " at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, " that it would be better for him to hasten his intended hap- " piness, by enjoying the repose in his power, without going " in quest of it through such a number of fatigues; he gave " him a counsel that admitted of many difficulties, and which " seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious " youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of " being satisfied with himself, and his present enjoyments, " without filling up the void of his heart with imaginary " hopes; which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be " happy, either before or after he had conquered the world; " and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his " minister, would have proved less satisfactory to him than " the hurry of all the wars and expeditions he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately dispatched Cineas to the Tarentines, with a band of three thousand foot; soon after which a large number of flat bottomed vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transport-ships, arriving from Tarentum,

he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers.

All being ready, he set sail; but as soon as he advanced into the open sea, a violent storm arose from the north, and drove him out of his course. The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him; till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast, the next morning, on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained, weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, in which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption. And they took it now for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting, and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were

safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shows, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of newsmongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which, several, who had not been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burned and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not sent him any succours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he dispatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgement and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, "That the Romans neither "took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy."

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him,—"Megacles," said he, "the disposition of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous; "we shall see whether the rest will correspond with this ap- "pearance *." And, already anxious for the success of the

* The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before with the rest of his troops, had no time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing towards him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace, and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of the troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensible duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with

great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by an horseman, who left him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he showed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broken by those animals, and that the horse, instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thessalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnassus writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies' camp, which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well-disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained; and, instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This exalted turn of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprised, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to dispatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation, and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents in the name of the king, to them and their wives: but not one Roman would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, That when Rome had made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace; and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and want of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from public affairs; but when he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired "Where," said he, with a warmth of noble indignation, "where is the spirit that suggested the "bold language you once uttered, and whose accents rung "through all the world; when you declared, that if the great

"Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, "and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he would never "have gained the reputation of being invincible, but have "added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight "or death! Is it possible, then, that you should now tremble "at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in "cringing to one of the guards of that Alexander, and who "now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to "country, to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who has "the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with "those very troops who have not been able to secure him a "small tract of Macedonia!" He added many other things of the same nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas,——"That Pyrrhus should "first retire from Italy; after which, if he should find himself "disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it: "but that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, "the Romans would maintain the war against him with all "their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand "such leaders as Levinus."

It is said that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans, their public as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, "That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings." A just and noble idea of that august body! and with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets, and all parts of the country, he added, "I greatly fear we are fighting "with an hydra." Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous

man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all the honours possible. The ambassadors, at their audience, said every thing necessary in the present conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of sinking the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers, who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

[h] Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect: "Romans, it is with an ill "grace you demand the prisoners I have taken from you, as "you intend to employ them against me, after your refusal of "the peace I proposed. If our mutual interest had been the "subject of your attention, you never would have had recourse "to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable "treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my al-"lies, and I promise to restore you all my prisoners, as well "your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you "offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you "to imagine that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to re-"lease so great a number of soldiers."

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner: "As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. "I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, "and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that "justice and temperance are united in your character; and "that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I "am likewise as certain of your poverty; and must confess, "that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with "injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators.

h Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744—758.

" In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am " ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you " above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, " that no expence can be more honourable to a prince, than " that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are " compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their " virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king " can possibly devote his treasures. At the same time I must " desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any " unjust or dishonourable service from you, as a return of " gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is perfectly " consistent with your honour, and what will add to your au- " thority and importance in your own country. Let me " therefore conjure you to assist me with your credit in the " Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much " inflexibility with relation to the treaty I proposed, and has " never consulted the rules of moderation in any respect. " Make them sensible, I entreat you, that I have given my so- " lemn word to assist the Tarentines, and other Greeks, who " are settled in this part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour " abandon them on any account, and especially as I am now " at the head of a potent army, that has already gained " me a battle. I must, however, acquaint you, that I am " called by some pressing affairs to my own dominions; and " this is the circumstance which makes me wish for peace " with the greater solicitude. As to any other particulars, if " my quality as a king causes me to be suspected by the se- " nate, because a number of other princes have openly violat- " ed the faith of treaties and alliances, without the least hesi- " tation; become my security yourself on this occasion; assist " me with your counsels in all my proceedings, and command " my armies under me. I want a virtuous man, and a faith- " ful friend, and you as much need a prince, whose liberali- " ties may enable you to be more useful, and to do more good " to mankind. Let us, therefore, consent to render mutual " assistance to each other, in all the future conjunctures of " our lives."

Pyrrhus, having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments silence, replied to him in these terms: " It is needless for me to make any mention of the experience " I may possibly have in the conduct of public or private af- " fairs, since you have been informed of that from others. " With respect also to my poverty, you seem to be so well " acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to

"assure you I have no money to improve, nor any slaves "from whom I derive the least revenue: that my whole for- "tune consists in a house of no considerable appearance, and "in a little spot of ground that furnishes me with my sup- "port. But if you believe my poverty renders my condition "inferior to that of every other Roman, and that, while I am "discharging the duties of an honest man, I am the less con- "sidered, because I happen not to be of the number of the "rich, permit me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive "of me is not just; and that, whoever may have inspired you "with that opinion, or you only suppose so yourself, you are "deceived to entertain it. Though I do not possess riches, I "never did imagine any indigence a prejudice to me, whether "I consider myself as a public or a private person. Did my "necessitous circumstances ever induce my country to exclude "me from those glorious employments, that are the noblest "objects of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with "the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the head of "the most illustrious embassies. I assist also at the most au- "gust assemblies, and even the most sacred functions of di- "vine worship are confided to my care. Whenever the most "important affairs are the subject of deliberation, I hold my "rank in councils, and offer my opinion with as much free- "dom as another. I preserve a parity with the richest and "most powerful persons in the republic; and, if any circum- "stance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much "honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The em- "ployments I discharge cost me nothing of mine, no more "than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens "to a ruinous condition, by raising them to the magistracy. "She gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in pub- "lic stations, and bestows them with liberality and magnifi- "cence. Rome, in this particular, differs from many other "cities, where the public is extremely poor, and private per- "sons immensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence, as "long as the republic is so, because we consider her treasures "as our own. The rich and the poor are equally admitted "to her employments, as she judges them worthy of trust, and "she knows no distinction between her citizens, but those of "merit and virtue. As to my particular affairs, I am so far "from repining at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest "of men when I compare myself with the rich, and find a "certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. My "little field, poor and unfertile as it is, supplies me with

" whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I " ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I " want more? Every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, " when seasoned by hunger; I drink with delight when I " thirst, and enjoy all the sweetness of sleep when fatigued " with toil. I content myself with an habit that covers me " from the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds of " furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest is, in " my sense, the most commodious. I should be unreasonable " and unjust, should I complain of fortune, whilst she supplies " me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I con- " fess she has not furnished me with any; but then she has " not formed me with the least desire to enjoy them. Why " should I then complain? It is true the want of this abun- " dance renders me incapable of relieving the necessitous, " which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for en- " joying. But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, " some portion of the little I possess, and render my country " all the services I am capable of performing; in a word, " when I discharge all the duties incumbent on me to the " best of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn me? " If riches had ever been the least part of my ambition, I have " so long been employed in the administration of the republic, " that I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great " sums, and even by irreproachable methods. Could any man " desire one more favourable than that which occurred a few " years ago? The consular dignity was conferred upon me, " and I was sent against the Samnites, the Brutii, and the " Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged " a large tract of land, and defeated the enemy in several " battles; we took many flourishing and opulent cities by as- " sault; I enriched the whole army with their spoils; I re- " turned every citizen the money he had contributed to the " expence of the war; and after I had received the honours " of a triumph, I brought four hundred talents into the pub- " lic treasury. After having neglected so considerable a " booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to " myself; after having despised such immense riches so just- " ly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the " love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and many " other great men, whose disinterested generosity of mind has " raised the glory of Rome to so illustrious an height; would " it now become me to accept of the gold and silver you offer " me? What idea would the world entertain of me? and what

" an example would I set Rome's citizens? How could I bear " their reproaches, how even their looks, at my return? " Those awful magistrates, our censors, who are appointed to " inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would " they not compel me to be accountable, in the view of all " the world, for the presents you solicit me to accept? You " shall keep, then, if you please, your riches to yourself, and " I my poverty and my reputation."

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches; but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really persuaded, there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire *.

[i] Pyrrhus, being desirous the next day to surprise the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the signal being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprise or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, " Neither your gold " yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me."

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the opinions of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world; declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of

i Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395.—397.

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regias opes posse contemnere.—Senec. Epist. 129.

mankind; and that they consigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, "Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans!"

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn not only on political systems, but points of erudition; for, at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning? Are not such discourses as these seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those table conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed without much expence of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus was struck with so much admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassador, and was so charmed with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him, a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. "I would not advise you to persist in that request," replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear with a smile, "and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself."

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would entrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompence proportionable to the service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice *, even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them, and as he knew there were some rights which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal; and as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference, therefore, with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS EMILIUS,

CONSULS;

TO KING PYRRHUS,

HEALTH.

"You seem to form a wrong judgement both of friends and "enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you "have read the letter which has been written to us. For "you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war "against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that "you repose entire confidence in the worst of men. The in-"formation we now send you, results more from our affec-"tion for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that "your death should give the world occasion to defame us; "and would not have it imagined that we had recourse to "treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily "by our valour."

* Ejusdem animi fuit, auro non vinci, veneno non vincere. Admirati sumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; boni exempli tenacem; quod difficillimum est, in bello innocentem; qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas: qui in summa paupertate, quam sibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitias quam venenum.—Senec. Epist. 120.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negociate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, were not averse to receiving the prisoners; they, however, returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that had landed him and his troops in Italy. But, as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks as marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, had disposed his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to fifteen thousand men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage, therefore, seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, "If we gain such another," replied he, "we are inevitably "ruined." And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field against the Romans, whose

very defeat inspired them with a new vigour and ardour to continue the war *.

[k] While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprise he had undertaken too inconsiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with a new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; [l] and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival: he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification of seeing themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus †, who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them out of the public treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of

k Plut. in Pyr. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. et l. xxii. c. 3.

l A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.——HORAT.

† He is called Sesistrates by Dionysius Halicarnassus.

all the people; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence; he also defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Messina, who were called Mamertines *, and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan Sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severely punished those who neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. [m] In contempt of the customs of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time

m Dion. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571.

* The word signifies Martial, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

prescribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive, and different from that by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel: and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus seized; but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal cities of Syracuse, who had conduced most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus; his vigorous conduct in the enterprises he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them *. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them

* Ut ad divincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita divictis acquisitisque celeriter carebat; tanto melius studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere.—Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians attacked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those Barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed thither before him, to the number of nearly ten thousand men, who greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harassing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

[n] Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, tell us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus' memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers; and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. [o] Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were laden with these rich and sacred spoils were cast upon the coasts of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced by this cruel disaster that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents the impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.

[p] Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus,

n Plut. in Pyrr. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3.
o Liv. l. xxix. n. 28. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerp. p. 542.
p A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

for deserting them, when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague; the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest and of most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains; and Manius, having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out in their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs and fall upon their own battalions; which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars of Carthage, in which, having at last

subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in these wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables, but played them very ill.

[q] He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of those troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of Antigonus' soldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes, marched against Antigonus himself, attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, till the encounter became very warm: but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus, perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders, and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

[q] Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian * Minerva. "Pyrrhus, king of "the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these "bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole "army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. "The descendants of Æacus are still, as they originally were, "perfectly brave and valiant."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Ægе †, whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there. They also carried off all the riches inclosed in those monuments, and, with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action; either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention, or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an inquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents: so criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the esteem of the Macedonians.

[r] Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprises. Cleonymus, the Spartan, came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleonymus, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons, Acrotates and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute with relation to the sovereignty arose between Areus and Cleony-

r A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400.—403. Pausan. l. i. p. 23, 24. et l. iii. p. 168. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

* Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her, under this name; one in Thessaly, near Larissa, which was the same with that in the passage before us; the other was in Bœotia, near Coronæa.

† A city of Macedonia on the river Haliacmon.

mus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair, to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and faith for weakness and want of judgement. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived in the evening before Lacedæmon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success

that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of that city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point: one among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, "What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an "opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live "after the destruction of Sparta?"

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work; but, as the absence of their king, and the surprise with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth, up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them; and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and, as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, and breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they

had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed, but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out two thousand Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty, by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who saw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonida; an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry; the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves

very much; particularly Phyllius, who, after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed with his own hand all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and, after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that design.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of that city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, repulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desparate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with two thousand foot which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

[s] Aristæus and Aristippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristæus, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristæus, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians, who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evaleus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the sharpest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intre-

s A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403.—406. Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

pidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a complete victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those who fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus, having thus celebrated the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, "That if Pyrrhus was grown "weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting "an end to it."

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors, at the same time, to both these princes, to entreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæus, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and

sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened, on his part, to sustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little surprised to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions with respect to the city-gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order, in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which, Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about, and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance; and to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that the troops could neither advance nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward, and were driven back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness

of his horse, he sprung into the throng of his enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impression of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rode away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is justly due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgement in that particular. [t] Livy reports from an historian, whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.

The same general also characterised Pyrrhus, by adding, "That he was the first who taught the art of encamping;

t Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

"that no one was more skilful in choosing his posts, and "drawing up his troops; that he had a peculiar art in con- "ciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and "this to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more "desirous of having him for their master, though a stranger, "than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who, for "so many years, had held the first rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals master of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learned it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person without the least precaution, like a common soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shows strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the general safety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not be also said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he were tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights-errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus' character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprises without the least maturity of thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slender occasions, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgement; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed no where so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander: but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in their defence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

[u] The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus [x], Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship; and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

[y] An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the king's statues erected in the public parts of

u A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.
x Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.
y A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? but let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompence merit in this manner? We may observe here, says an historian *, three fine models set before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECTION VIII.

ATHENS TAKEN BY ANTIGONUS. PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS IMPROVES COMMERCE. HIS DEATH.

The Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall

* Valerius Maximus.

see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but impetuously, and without success.

[a] Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia, became very powerful some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece; the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more adviseable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison into it.

[b] Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muse and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons, and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Ly-

a A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168. et in Attic. p. 1.

b A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

simachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satire against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoe, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets, who profess satire, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

[c] The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government, by long possession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Mamarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned, to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four

c A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

thousand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

[d] Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

[e] Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of fourscore. He was an eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lysimachus, finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and intrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post for several years; but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related, and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen, and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in

d A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

e A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. Att. p. 13. et 18.

the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son also named Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

[f] Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the lower empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Phileteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he had already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

[g] Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered * one of his sons to be put to death, for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.

[h] Antiochus the son, when he came to the crown, was es-

f A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Pausan. Eliac. p. 405. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio. in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. 21. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

g A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi.

h A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyæn. Stratag. l. xviii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 230. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

* Mr La Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgement of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may consult Tom. VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

poused to Laodice, his sister by the father. He afterward assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Cœlosyria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Asia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgement for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of God. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages! The Lemnians [i] had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

[k] Berosus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berosus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold [l], in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercise. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

[m] Ptolemy, being solicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East; which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from

i Athen. l. xvii. p. 255.
k Tatian. in Orat. Con. Græc. p. 171. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. ix. 7.
l Plin. 737. m A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259.

thence, by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this last place, by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two sea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

[n] Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterwards exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile, that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations.

As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red Sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. [o] This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty-seven with seven; five with six; and seventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to an hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, besides a prodigious number of small vessels. With this for-

n Strab. l. xxvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.
o Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203.

midable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults, but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

[p] Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt, and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negociation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

[q] Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Towards the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time; but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

[r] The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

p A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258.
q A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.
r A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. Hieron. in Daniel.

[s] Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniences of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable.

[t] Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

[u] While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of preventing with the necessary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

[x] The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons, whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out

s A. M. 3749. Ant. J. C. 255. Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.
t A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.
u A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.
x Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515.

that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

y Much about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and * M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome; that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

z The troubles and revolts in the East made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons; Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet

y Justin. et Strab. Ibid.

z A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

* In all acts he is called C. Atilius.

Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

[a] "I will now show thee the truth." These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Per-"sia;" namely, Cyrus, who was then upon his throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. "And "the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his "strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the "realm of Greece." The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

[b] "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with "great dominion, and do according to his will." In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

[c] "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be bro-"ken," by his death, "and shall be divided towards the four "winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to "his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be "plucked up, even for others besides those;" namely, besides the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander * parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

[d] "The king of the South shall be strong, and one of his "princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have domi-"nion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the "end of years they shall join themselves together: for the "king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the "North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain the "power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but "she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that "begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times."

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage,

a Dan. chap. xi. ver. 2. b Ibid. ver. 3.
c Ver. 4. d Ver. 6.

* Tum maximum in terris Macedonium regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus.—Liv. l. xlv. n. 9.

and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

[e] "The king of the South shall be strong." This "king "of the South" was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and "the king of the North" was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judea, which has Syria to the North and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned, in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls "the king of the South," and declares, that "he shall be strong." The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in this history; for he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palestine Cœlosyria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; with the island of Cyprus; as also several isles in the Ægean Sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

[f] The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls Princes, or Governors. This was Seleucus Nicator, "the king of the North;" of whom he declares, "that he shall be more powerful than the "king of the South, and his dominion more extensive;" for this is the import of the prophet's expression, "He shall be "strong above him, and have dominion." It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from Mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia Minor, between Mount Taurus and the Ægean Sea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

[g] Daniel then informs us, "that the daughter of the king "of the South came to the king of the North, and mentions "the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion "between the two kings." This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will show us

e Dan. xi. 5. f Ibid. 6. g Ver. 6.

the fatal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related, in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment! By the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

[h] As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures of excellent masters, as he also was in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which suited his taste exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamed that Diana had appeared to her, and acquainted her that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was sent back, as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper

h A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248. Liban. Orat. xi.

temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses and temples of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth, and fortune, "Sell this picture, "or this statue *," since it is, in effect, declaring, "you are "unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your posses- "sion, which suits only a person of my rank and taste." I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds †.

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children when he espoused her; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

[i] Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined

i Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

* Superbum est et non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido; vende mihi vasa cælata. Hoc est enim dicere; non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Meæ dignitatis ista sunt.—Cic. Orat. de Signis, n. 45.

† Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris.—Id. n. 14.

with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times: and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.

[k] Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoe but a short time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. [l] He left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last-mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son, Ptolemy Evergetes, succeeded him in the throne; the second bore the name of Lysimachus, his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

SECTION IX.

CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

Ptolemy Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of

k A. M. 3757. Ant. J. C. 247. Athen. l. xii. p. 10.
l Canon, Ptolemy, Astron.

Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use the expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expences, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he

built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded that commerce was like some other springs, that soon ceased to flow when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were exceedingly beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the East and the West by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendours

of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

CHAPTER III.

The third chapter comprehends the history of twenty-five years, including the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes.

SECTION I.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS IS POISONED BY HIS QUEEN LAODICE. THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS.

As soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death [m] of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and herchil dren. This lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to supplant her, by receiving Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice, therefore, caused Antiochus to be poisoned; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person, named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his

m A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that princess, being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator; but being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son, and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold, with relation to this marriage. "[n] The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king "of the North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain "the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; "but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and "he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these "times." I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer, if he had even been a spectator of what he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwith-

n Dan. xi. 6.

standing all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be "believed and reverenced!" "Testimonia tua credibilia "facta sunt nimis."

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune; in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris; and, if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side Mount Taurus; and Xantippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it; Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off forty thousand * talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two

* About six millions Sterling.

thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols that Cambyses, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition; for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which signifies a Benefactor, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text to prove what we advance. [o] "But out of a branch of her root," intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, "shall one stand up in his "estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into "the fortress of the king of the North," Seleucus Callinicus, "and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall "also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, "and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he "shall continue more years than the king of the North. So "the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and "shall return into his own land;" namely, into that of Egypt.

[p] When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoe, on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated

o Dan. xi. 7, 9.
p Hygini. Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in Hist. Synag. Catullus de Coma Beren.

hair being lost soon after by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation; declaring at the same time, that these were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

[q] Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

[r] Seleucus had been detained for some time in his kingdom by the apprehension of domestic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprise was, however, ineffectual; for, as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if heaven itself, says * Justin, had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Bere-

q Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.
r A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.
* Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

nice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished; and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

[s] This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea; as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power, only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune *.

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, were presented to the University of Oxford by his grandson, Henry, Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish the same zeal had been ever testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal

[s] A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244

* Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret.—Justin.

honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age *, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of Hierax †, which signifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

[t] When Ptolemy received intelligence, that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both those princes for his enemies at the same time.

[u] Antigonus Gonatus died much about this period, at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. [x] Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband; but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

t A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. u A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.
x Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 1.

* Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quia, non hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitiam sectaretur.—Justin.

† A Kite.

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them *; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed Mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. [y] Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army amongst them.

[z] Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being desirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their division. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner, as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all Asia Minor open to him.

y Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. z Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3.

* Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibuit.

[a] Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin-german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of King; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to assume the style of sovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and after him Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arsaces were proceeding by their example in the East. [b] The latter, hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which, in process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other with the most implacable warmth, not considering, that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia; finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining

a A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.
b Justin. l. xli. c 4.
c A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

a son-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He however had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned; [d] he also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtezan; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

[e] Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, [f] Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. [g] He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

[h] When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus, therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded

d A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. e A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239.
f Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. g Id. in voc. Απολλώνιος et Ερατισθένης.
h A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

[i] Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit; but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first era of their slavery: for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government, if they had persevered to submit to it. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans *. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, "[k] That "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth "it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest "of men."

[l] Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send to Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great

i A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. et 5. k Dan. v. 17
l A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. et 4.

* Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis (fuit), quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus.—Justin.

sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to sent a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Cœlosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them, all the circumstances he could desire with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum

they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his Majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

[m] King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a son, named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who, having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed Doson *.

[n] Five or six years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for some time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was

m A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euseb.
n A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 223. Justin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.
* This name signifies in the Greek language, "One who will give," that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be necessary for me to represent the state of these two republics; and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECTION II.

CHARACTER OF ARATUS, WHO DELIVERS SICYON FROM TYRANNY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACHÆANS.

THE republic of the Achæans [o] was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotonians and Sabarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve * cities, all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, amongst all her citizens, she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change a single man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first

o Polyb. l. viii. p. 125.—130.

* These twelve cities were, Patræ, Dymæ, Pharæ, Tritea, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Cassander; and last of all, to Antigonus Gonatus, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

p Towards the beginning of the 124th Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dymæ laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republic anew: all affairs were decided by a public council; the registers were committed to a common secretary; the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

q Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abanditas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death; he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the im-

p A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.
q Plut. in Arato, p. 1027—1031.

pulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father's at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

[s] Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean passages, and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens "to resume their liberty." Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burned it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and

[r] A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable for, as I have already observed, they were only masters o; three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports nor any other maritime stations of security. But, with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achæans, who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the ancient power of Greece, by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy; thus, I say, did these Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders; for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of the country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

[s] The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his

s Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. i. p. 277, 278.

friendship and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs; his expressions in discourse were always proper; his thoughts just; and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprises against an enemy; in making his designs impenetrable secrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army; nothing could then be discovered in him, but protraction, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

[t] I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions, after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war,

t A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.—1038.

which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings; Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, equal to a thousand crowns, not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was inchanted with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and presented him with one hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set

out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels to assist him in the determination of this important affair, (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves), had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by public inscriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy, and even fear; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he therefore was resolved to employ him in his affairs; he concluded this strain of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Bœotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among

them till after the battle of Chæronea *, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

[u] Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious enterprises of the Grecian leaders.

The isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication, by land and sea, from the inner part of the isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel "the Shackles of Greece," and as it was capable of being rendered such, it created jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprise, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him in his turn, and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the summit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a smile, desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable

[u] A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

* Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding at the same time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprise. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposite that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprise, he pledged all his gold and silver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them, and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action!

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great

men, who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute; they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time, a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the sentinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed upon the wall, and Aratus ascended with an hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrouded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line, against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights which were immediately set up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every

place resounded with confused cries that were not to be distinguished.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred soldiers whom Aratus had left without near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bended rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard; but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed by those three hundred men without perceiving them; but when he had advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all dispersed themselves in the city.

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who made a very vigorous defence,

and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops then desired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at last had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that soon dispersed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achæans in two lines, in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage completely armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest, and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applause and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little towards the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he

had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterwards sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of four hundred men.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus, and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendency of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he, either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuation; for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendship of kings, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union; and must infallibly perish when once they are separated, as the sustenance by which they subsist will be discontinued from that moment. Cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

[x] All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprises of Antigonus Gonatus, during the life of that prince.

x Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.

[y] He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatus, with an intention to destroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. [z] The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

[a] Illyrium was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, so called from a city of Illyrium subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. [b] Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son named Pinæus. These people, harassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good services were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garrison, into their city.

[c] The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta, to complain of these injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the consul, Fulvius, the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

y A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. Polyb. l. ii. p. 91.—101. Appian. de Bell. Illyr. p. 760.
z A. M. 3770. Ant. J. C. 234.
a A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232.
b A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.
c A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

[d] Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places, which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They also sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also dispatched to Corinth and Athens; and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens: others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example; and he procured several advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent of their conduct.

[e] Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to restore liberty to that city, as a recompense for the education he had received there; and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achæan league as highly advantageous to the common cause; but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics; and before there could be any opportunity

d A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.
e Plut. in Arat. p. 1038.—1041.

to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern; for when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety, that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes, which entirely surrounded that structure. He drove away all his domestics the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept, if we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe, and a mind void of fear; and whereas all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the

additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, seldom escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always shewed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world*.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus, and above fifteen hundred of his men, lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus, had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme power. This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprises which seemed necessary at that juncture, and, among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and, without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no

* Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the Life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.

more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECTION III.

AGIS ATTEMPTS TO REFORM SPARTA. HE IS CONDEMNED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED ACCORDINGLY.

When [f] the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally inseparable attendants of riches; and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever: Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixteenth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platæa.

I have already related the divisions which arose in Sparta, between Cleonymus * and Areus, in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedæmon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son, named Areus from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted

[f] Plut. in Agid. p. 796.—801.

* Josephus relates, that Areus King of Lacedæmon sent letters to Onias the High Priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedæmonians. The original of this relation is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas, who had resided for several years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus; he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches †, and the luxury of an house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those ensnaring pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the ancient form of public meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, "That he should "not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of revi- "ing the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta." These noble sentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a solid judgement of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended in some measure, the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony in his own lifetime, or to make a testamentary donation of them to whom he pleased; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan poli-

* Plutarch informs us, that his mother Agesistrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

ty. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority in their several families, since it was not then possessed of any motives of filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects would be soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws *, on which basis a state, or community, has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniences, from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead!

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorised the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which, all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty, which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind, by extinguishing those ardours for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt.—Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 54.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about seven hundred; and not many more than an hundred of these had preserved their family-estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities; these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

[g] Such was the state of Sparta, when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprise was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with a passion for riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expence to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs: when Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation on the first ideas it presented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent to dissuade him from it; but when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments, and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed

[g] A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 348.

Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestic affairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lysander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. 1. All the debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to Mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Melea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of

the adjacent parts who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people, and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of Phidicies; the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred; and lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed by the senators whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lysander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them: Particularly, the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk, ever since they had been disregarded by her; he then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once could make the great king * tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence; which might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by these means, they were exposed to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with entreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost; but that they would recal to their remembrance those ancient oracles,

* This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse, for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter, that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable; consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, besides six hundred talents of current money*; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power; for as he knew that it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligation to him as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their estates should be appropriated to the public, would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always considered him as such. "Where do you find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Ly-"curgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the free-"dom of Sparta to strangers? since, on the contrary, it was "his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all "strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered, "That he was not surprised that such a person as Leonidas, "who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had "married into the house of a Persian grandee, should be so "little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had "swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold "and silver from the city: That, with respect to strangers, "his precautions were intended against none but those who "could not accommodate themselves to the manners and dis-"cipline he had established; that these were the only persons "he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their

* Equal to six hundred thousand French crowns.

" persons, but from a mere apprehension that their method " of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire " the Spartans with the love of luxury and softness, and an " immoderate passion for riches."

He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them; they likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices; upon which Lysander, who still continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which " each descendant from Hercules was " prohibited from espousing any foreign woman; and which " made it death for any Spartan to settle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon at the same time to assist in the prosecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus separated herself from her husband, and became a supplicant for her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he refused to render obedience in that particular, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lysander quitted his employment about the close of these transactions, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lysander and Mandroclides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of

the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonstrance, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seat, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for the releasing of the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable, but not one person was killed on this occasion; and when Agis even knew that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated in his retreat to Tegea, he ordered him to be safely conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt; but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of the debts, it would be easy for them to accomplish the partition of lands. The species turn of this reasoning ensnared Agis, and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agesilaus; in consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the public place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agesilaus cried with an insulting air, "That he had never "seen so fine and clear a fire before."

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was oliged to take the field at the head of

an army: For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumstances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder; and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprised, and made the following reflection: "What admirable discipline and order must formerly have "been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they "were commanded by Agesilaus, Lysander, or the ancient "Leonidas: as they even discover at this time so much awe "and respect for their general, though younger than any sol-"dier in his camp!"

Agis joined Aratus near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he shousld dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviseable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the elder officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with so much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his disinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which in reality was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wise view for the public good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he wrote on that occasion; wherein he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest,

and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more advisable to let the enemy advance into that country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

[h] The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction, and in their march seized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with those he then had against the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory: he attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having lost seven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered, into the highest applauses and panegyric.

Several states and princes having now entered upon a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negociated an offensive and defensive league between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

[i] Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agesilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice: when he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most public manner from Tegea, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction

h Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.

i A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Plut. in Agid. p. 802.—804.

of the people, who were greatly irritated to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Agesilaus saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary, Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal powers in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a supplicant for him with her father.

All those who were then present melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess, pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, "Believe me, O my father," said she, "this habit of woe which I now wear, this dejec-
"tion which appears in my countenance, and these sorrows
"into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that com-
"passion I entertain for Cleombrotus, but the sad remains of
"my affliction for the calamities you have sustained in your
"flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve?
"While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over
"the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in
"the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or
"is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and mag-
"nificence, when I behold the husband I received from you
"in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your
"dagger? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment,
"and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife
"and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be pu-
"nished with more severity for his imprudence, than was

"even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is "so dear to him, expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, "that in my present condition I will ever consent to survive "him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan "ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with com- "passion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for "my husband! What indeed shall I appear to them, but a "daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her "nearest relations!" Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle; and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself, with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which, he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Democharès, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from

thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori, of whose number he was one, against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprise him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets through which they passed, turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and, as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, "Agis, I must con-"duct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable "for your behaviour." At the same instant, Democharès, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed; and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from his criminal affair, asked him, Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he repented of that proceeding? the young prince answered with an air of steadiness,

"That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and "glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented "to his view in all its terrors." His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those on whom the sentence of condemnation had passed were usually strangled.

When Democharès saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be assistant at so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and entreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, "Weep not "for me, my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner con-"trary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more "to be envied, than those who have condemned me." When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the desolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet; he raised her from the earth, and assured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; entreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, to enter the prison and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. "Your request," said he, "is reasonable;" and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded

the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady at her time. When the executioner had performed this fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that dismal place, she beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still twisted about her neck. She assisted the executioners in disengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty, after which she laid the corpse by her son, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was completed, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, "O my son," said she, "the excess of thy humanity and "sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and "lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!"

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, "Since you knew," said he, "and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in "his punishment." Agesistrata rose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, "May this," cried she, "at least be "useful to Sparta."

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all; so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

[k] Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then com-

k Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

pelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion to Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECTION IV.

CLEOMENES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SPARTA. HE REFORMS THE GOVERNMENT, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE.

Cleomenes had a noble soul [1], and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that excessive sweetness of disposition, attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so amiable to him, as the government of the citizens agreeably to their own inclinations; but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to the public utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from the view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence, and a voluptuous life; and the

1 Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.—811.

king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expence. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself, in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian *. The stoic philosophy, which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to infuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind; but at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

[m] After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne: and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of King, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew solicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against them.

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negociate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who

m A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

* So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against them with twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose troops did not amount to five thousand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air among his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, "That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the "number of their enemies, but where they were." He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinea, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestible right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus *.

* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 383. et l. viii. p. 511.

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysiades was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a set of persons who had been chosen for that action, entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates *, with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of fourscore citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of public resort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori, except one, where he determined to place himself, in order to render justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice; and menacing those who were desirous of beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued, rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all its glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately consigned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the

* The magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recall them as soon as affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thousand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconic discipline, wherein the philosopher Sperus was very assistant to him. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of Monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfactions occasioned by the novelties he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them see how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis, where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and shows to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how much he assured himself of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute proceedings. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate railleries, which were

always modest, and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master, who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects; an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers; the audiences he gave, were as long as the people who applied to him could desire; he gave all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly Laconic. No music was ever introduced there, nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of distinguishing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory, to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce in which freedom of thought and sincerity of manners always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

[n] This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardour for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans,

[n] A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 226.

ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harassed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

[o] The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event. Jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

The Achæans, being reduced to the last extremities, [p] and especially after the loss of the first battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negociate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards dispatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them.

o Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem. in Arat. p. 1044.
p A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227.

The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on these terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king accordingly set out for that place, but an unexpected accident, which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negociation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very dishonourable in him to suffer a young man to graft himself upon, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented, and retained for so many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes; but as he had the mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought the Lacedæmonians were very reasonable in their intentions to restore Peloponnesus to its ancient state, he had recourse to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. His design was to call in the assistance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

[q] He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was sensible, that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negociation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself; because he knew, that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and besides, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achæ-

[q] Polyb. l. ii. p. 133—148.

ans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions before hand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of these two states should have those advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove averse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then entreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were sensible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular go-

vernment; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. Polybius [r], speaking of one of these princes, declares in express terms, that he had paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty *.

It cannot therefore be thought surprising, that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negociation, and immediately dispatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to put their interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he

r Lib. ii. p. 131.

* Δημήτριον αὐτοῖς (μονάρχοις) ὄντι χορηγὸς καὶ μισθοδότης.

intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republic to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

[s] The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them; for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities of Peloponnesus *, of which Argos was the most considerable, and at last seized Corinth [t], but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which suited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous situation between two seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus among the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches, with an army of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea, with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more advisable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains †, and to harass the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with such well-disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities, for he had not provided himself with any considerable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes: the only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have

s A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047. t A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

* Capbyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlionte, Cleone, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzene.

† These were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Bœotia, and Mount Citheron.—Strab. l. viii.

recourse in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to transport his army by sea to Sicyon; which would require a considerable space of time, as well as great preparations, which could not easily be made.

[u] While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp one night, by sea, and informed him that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea, and arrived at Epidaurus.

Cleomenes receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones, with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus, and, to animate the Corinthians, assured them, that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos were no more than a slight commotion, excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this, however, he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from those troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him, by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of this march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as

[u] A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 224.

much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole compaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand; and though he frequently went to visit her, with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother, observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have usually a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her; "How, "my son!" said she with a smile, "is this the secret you "wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of "heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on "board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to "any part of the world, where my person may be useful to "Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor "and inaction?"

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Cratesiclea, for so the mother of Cleomenes was called, took her son apart a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting; "King of Lacedæmon," said she, "let us dry our tears, "that no person, when we quit the temple, may see us weep, "or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our "power; events are in the hands of God." When she had

expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived at Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty with them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive of his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial or glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

[x] Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the helots who were capable of paying five minæ, about ten pounds sterling, to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents, about one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and armed two thousand of these helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and, consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was

x A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815.—817. Id. in Arat. p. 1048.

then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods, in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such a noble cast of thought, from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece, united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was lost in the splendour of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He

compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy, without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions, and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games, in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprised the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master of affairs, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them; and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new-inhabited city * by the name of him who had shewn himself its most cruel enemy. A sad, and at the same time a salutary example, which shews, that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality nor any shining action can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that with a view to complete the welfare of their cities, and secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title? If,

* Antigonia.

therefore, continues Plutarch it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta, descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles that of Captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious masters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a procession crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering, by these low adulations, that homage to a mortal man, which none but the Divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shown himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty; which, amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempted from blame.

[y] We have already observed, that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that

y Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waste. He conceived, at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace-gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station, did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they considered, that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of soul. A misfortune, however, unhappily prevented him from reinstating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECTION V.

BATTLE OF SELASIA, WHEREIN ANTIGONUS DEFEATS CLEOMENES. A GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT RHODES.

THE Macedonians and Achæans [z] having quitted their quarters in the summer-season, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and sound the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always

z A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 150.—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

upon their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one third, and were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes, therefore, was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions, alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these two thousand Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to Mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line, and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx; which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at Mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great

danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher situation, at the same time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who assaulted them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as a chimera. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by that usage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harassed them on every side. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him; and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would in-

fallibly attend his arms; he imagined in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity; but as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged him to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action the cavalry of each army had also engaged That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on Mount Olympus with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each of them had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in signalizing themselves, as well in parties as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it advisable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus, advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general;

the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians escaped out of six thousand.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus derived his success, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few forces as those of his own troops, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a single moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner: "That young "man," said Antigonus, "in seizing the occasion, behaved "like a great general, but you, the general, like a young man."

Sparta, on this disaster, shewed that ancient steadiness and intrepidity, which seemed to have something of a savage air, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor sit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures in his power to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia for the liberty of Sparta. "You are deceived," cried Cleomenes, "if you imagine "there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through "the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty ap- "plause; say rather, that such an action is mean and pusilla- "nimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of "being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself*, "since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live "or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endea- "vour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath; and "whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us "to have recourse to death, if such should be then our incli- "nation."

[a] Cleomenes had scarce set sail before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against

a A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

* The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of the persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless nor inactive, with respect to the public; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions.—Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by his posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had saved that city, by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his city in her ancient splendour and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprises of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it, and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He, however, would not suffer himself to be dejected by this ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, "O the "glorious happy battle!" And that he uttered this exclamation with so much ardour, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the sceptre, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shown

in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity; Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. [b] The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as, with his other good offices, should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents, about twenty thousand pounds sterling, with which he supported himself and his friends with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. [c] Ptolemy, however, died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any virtue and moderation was conspicuous; [d] for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal * care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly, he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straits † which form a communication with the Southern Ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

[e] Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake. The walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the narrow passes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that

b A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.
c A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.
d Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. Polyb. l. v. p. 428.—431.
e A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

* Monum. Adulit.

† Straits of Babelmandel.

this earthquake spared neither private houses nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above an hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, besides his other expences, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, besides an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded, that a lady, whose name was Chryseis *, and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance one hundred thousand bushels of corn. "Let "the princes of these times," says Polybius, "who imagine "they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand "crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to "that we have now described." Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of a prodigious size, as I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. [f] This people, instead of employing the

f Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.
* Chryseis signifies golden.

sums they had received, in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbidden it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground for the space of eight hundred and ninety-four years; at the expiration of which, that is to say, in the six hundredth and fifty-third year of our Lord, Moawyas *, the sixth Caliph or Emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the statue had sustained by rust, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-six thousand pounds, or seven thousand two hundred quintals.

* Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. et Cedrenus.

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS Book includes the history of twenty-seven years, during which Ptolemy Philopator reigned.

SECTION I.

ANTIOCHUS TAKES THE STRONGEST CITIES IN CŒLOSYRIA. HE IS ENTIRELY DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF RAPHIA.

I OBSERVED in the preceding book [g], that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Evergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of Κεραυνος, Ceraunus, or the Thunder, which no way suited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea of that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus, his cousin, son to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken

g A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. et l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept prisoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and that of the following.

[h] Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia Minor, from Mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.

[i] Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and valour, with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia *, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he had been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

[k] As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epi-

h A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.
i A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.
k A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

* To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the East instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

genes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo, despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

[1] News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be advisable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœlosyria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person to the East, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in the sight of the prince, and of an army; or, in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in per-

[1] A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. v. p. 386.—395.

son against Molo, with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed, upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Cœlosyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the East, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed in not following Epigenes' advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprise against Cœlosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, sententious manner, "That it became kings to "march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants "against rebels." Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in Hermias' opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master, inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that, acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, not from conviction, but weakness and indolence, he contented himself with sending a general, and a body of troops, into the East, and himself resumed the expedition of Cœlosyria.

[m] The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. That victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Cœlosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most advisable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprise of Cœlosyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without instancing a levity and inconstancy, entirely inconsistent with the glory of a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame; and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to

m A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army on account of the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because, after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus' esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence, well knowing, that princes soon forget the virtue and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes' experience and ability was in so important an expedition. But*, as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner possess him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended views of economy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate; but the soldiers, having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes' disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return; to prevent which he em-

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οἰκονομίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμείου κακοηθείας, οὐκ ἦν αὐτὸς κύριος. Circumventus ex preoccupatus œconomiis, et custodiis, et obsequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, sui non erat dominus.—This is a literal translation.

ployed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces! Hermias orders this man to dispatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes' domestics; and by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, surprised at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly a search being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise; but fear kept them all tongue-tied and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied, are princes!

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

[n] Upon the return of the season he marched them towards the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained so complete a victory over him, that the rebel, seeing all lost, laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers who escaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate, they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at last dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

[n] A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence into Seleucia over the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for the re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former footing.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated on the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepid old man, who being greatly terrified with Antiochus' approach at the head of a victorious army, sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

[o] News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might dispatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that in his name he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government which the avarice and cruelty of a prime minister had rendered insupportable. The complaints did not reach the throne, whose avenues were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias' cruelty, all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, whose dependent he had made himself, and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with discharging the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes, his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger to which himself was exposed,

o A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 399.—401.

by the ill conduct of his prime minister. He therefore advised Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia, who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied; that it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill design; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer, who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

This prince, as was already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but did not reveal his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice, and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here, taking him to walk in a solitary place where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused an universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentments. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place; for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

[p] Antiochus having so happily re-established his affairs in the East, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in An-

p Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

tioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria: one was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœlosyria; and the other against Achæus, who had usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having seized upon all Cœlosyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus' reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus, and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of such as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown; and with that view, held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and therefore taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes solicited very earnestly his alliance. [q] This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the Straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromа-

q Polyb. l. iv. p. 314.—319.

chus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon their ancient footing, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

[r] It was against this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms. These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and were the subject of the deliberations of his council, to consider which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms: and accordingly, all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœlosyria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes, the king's physician, represented to him, that it would be a great oversight, should they march into Cœlosyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it; for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to support the rights of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, by cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia, being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the

[r] A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 402.—409.

whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœlosyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king expected greater things from his valour, and were persuaded that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. Indeed, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundless injury they had done him; and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened his indignation and resentment. It was intolerable to him to depend on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And, indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopater plunged himself during his whole reign: and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by Antiphrasis, surnamed * Philopater. He publicly caused Berenice his mother, and Magis his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel, or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibes, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as Philopater; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus,

* This word signifies, "a lover of his father."

and immediately dispatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, however, would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant, therefore, that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of Mount Libanus, to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side; however, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dikes of the Nile, and consequently that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœlosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; [s] and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon, the governor of it, by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus, the Ætolian, governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

[t] During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The lat-

s Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. t Ibid. v. p. 409.—415.

ter was not satisfied with Asia Minor, of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judea, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alleging, that it was a shameful and unheard of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

[u] During these contests, in which neither side would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus, the Ætolian, had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which occasioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary preparations had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to Mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was obliged to pass; firmly resolved to wait for him there, and stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he was master of gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but prepared all things both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land forces. The fleets coasted the armies on both sides; so that their naval as well as land

[u] A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage, so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing four thousand of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He nevertheless found that conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of provisions and other necessaries; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having subjected it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolocus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him; and he gave them five thousand men to keep it in subjection. He marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

[x] The campaign was again opened in spring. Ptolemy caused seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and sixty-three elephants, to advance towards Pelusium. He was at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of seventy-two thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and one hundred and two elephants. He first encamped within * ten furlongs, and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another they were perpetually skirmishing, either when they went to fetch fresh water, or in foraging; particular persons also distinguished themselves upon these occasions.

x A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. v. p. 240.—248.

* Half a French league.

Theodotus, the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptains, favoured by the darkness of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

But at last the two kings, resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was, Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst, hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit, Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus' centre in flank, which was then uncovered, and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army broke and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul, on the banks of the lake Thrasymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus' retreat, all Cœlosyria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, and from Judea among the rest, to pay homage to, and offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

[y] Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces, and among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw * the temple there, and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel; making at the same time oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies, to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and that but once every year, on the third day of the great expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands, to implore Heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced as far as the second court; but, as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year, raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship false deities.

[z] The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived at Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessen-

y Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

z Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

* The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of Scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two first. Dr Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says, that the ground-work of the story is true, though the author changed some circumstances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

ed since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be safest for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy; to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Cœlosyria and Palestine. Cœlosyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Israel; and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at that juncture; choosing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing of them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the same terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportnnity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time, they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this occasion, was the chief source of the disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion: so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the centre of his own dominions.

[a] Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed Mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against the common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out about a year. He often made sallies,

a A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus' commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which said that the * "Cretans were liars and "knaves."

[b] Ptolemy Philopater had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sosibes to relieve him at any price whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibes consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think on some method for Achæus' escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus' service; that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis; and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree, for their greater advantage, to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well, that, instead of procuring Achæus' escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

[c] Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus' assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sosibes, and some other of Achæus' friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated

b Polyb. l. viii. p. 522.—531.
c A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.
* S. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.
† Ten thousand French crowns.

prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus' death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of such traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself worthy of it, by his infidelity to his sovereign.

[d] It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopater began to break out. According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

[e] We also read in Livy, that the Romans, some time after, sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoe, to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried as a present to the king, a robe and a purple tunic, with an * ivory chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

[f] Philopater had at this time, by † Arsinoe, his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.

[g] Philopater, from the signal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea, his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him en-

d Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

e A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

f A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4

g A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. et. 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. l. xv. xvi.

* This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

† Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As Archbishop Usher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inserted it there in the first edition of this work. But as Josephus, from whom it is taken, says, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus, the son of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does also, that is to say, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, 187 years before Jesus Christ.

tirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and playing upon instruments. The * women disposed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibes, an old artful minister, who had served during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

[h] Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and prime minister did not shew her the least respect. On the other side, the queen was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring: and they at last grew weary of her complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the choosing a prime minister. Sosibes resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly, that he had not all the qualities necessary for supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all the honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was ex-

h Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

* Tribunatus, præfecturas, et ducatus mulieris ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno suo minus, quam ipse rex, poterat.—Justin.

tremely liberal; but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, gave in to luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all the world.

The wars of the East have made me suspend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance: we now return to them.

SECTION II.

THE ÆTOLIANS DECLARE AGAINST THE ACHÆANS. BATTLE OF CAPHIA. UNHAPPY DEATH OF CLEOMENES.

The Ætolians[i], particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the strait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. But in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they exercised themselves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trojus Pompeius, or Justin his epitomiser[k], the highest contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a shameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by fratricide, and formed by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their

i Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331, et 746. Pausan. l. x. p. 650.
k Justin. l. xxviii. c. 2.

virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his son had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions: That therefore the Romans would not do well to rouse the Ætolians against them; a people whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgement of the Ætolians, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

[l] From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expence, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians. [m] Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered by repose and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and entreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counsel. However, the remembrance of

l Polyb. l. iv. p. 272.—292. Plut. in Arat. 1049.
m A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage, so that he behaved as a wise citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, entreated Philip to keep well with Aratus, and to follow his counsel in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye, and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank, and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus' known probity, in order to have the sole ascendant over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity; the sole means to banish for ever from princes, that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. [n] That unhappy city was perpetually torn by seditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens, were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegea, where he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself

n Polyb. p. 292.—294.

with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king, who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

[o] Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised, and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilst they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

[p] Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes; for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were consulted. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burden of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time; but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him who occasioned them. [q] After this he thought

o Polyb. l. iv. p. 294.—299.
p A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleom. p. 820.—823.
q Polyb. l. v. p. 380.—385.

himself secure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successor, but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he despised on account of their minority. In this security he devoted himself entirely to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention to what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Cœlosyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the ports and harbours, which lie along the coasts from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lysimachia, were subject to them, from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus' death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recal him to his native country, he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for re-possessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleasures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes' entreaties.

Sosibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or

provisions. They believed that a needless expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive, that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his having the king in the utmost contempt, and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sosibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, that prime minister was afraid lest this prince should prevail with the foreign soldiers to make an insurrection: "I answer for them," says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus; "and you may "depend, that upon the first signal I give, they all will take "up arms in your favour." This made Sosibes hesitate no longer: on a fictitious accusation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed such a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, as despair only could suggest; and this was, to return the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to stir up his subjects against him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets; exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover

their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them; and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates of it, and set all the prisoners at liberty; but they found these shut and strongly barricaded. Cleomenes now lost all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him; but all fled through fear. But seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words, "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you "come!"

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself; and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted, as that of Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra; and therefore that it would be absolutely necessary to root out the evil at one blow. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim * should not take place here, viz. that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death? And have not † some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws? But a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the

* Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere.—Cic. l. i. Epist. 9. ad. Famil.

† Decebat omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus.—Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 53.

Ephori, in order to get success to his enterprise; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king; and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards made such wild havoc in Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began * the succession of tyrants.

[r] During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained that he would return again; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a talent †, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECTION III.

VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP. A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HIM AND THE ACHÆANS, AND THE ÆTOLIANS.

We [s] have already related, that Philip, king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth, where their general assembly was held; and that there war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broke their

r Polyb. l. iv. p. 301.

s A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Polyb. l. iv. p. 294.—306.

* Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmoniæ fuit.—Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 26.

† A thousand crowns.

engagements with him, by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

[t] Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip. We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the spoils they got from their neighbours, when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had sailed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, and besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. [u] Demetrius, being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However, Philip, who revolved at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprises; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgement.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though at their great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: nevertheless, they engaged in a war a little after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first

[t] Polyb. l. iii. p. 171.—174. Lib. iv. p. 285.—305.—330.
[u] Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, viz. of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans: but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Agesipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the same over the Ætolians.

[x] Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Having crossed Thessaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more: Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.

[y] In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Larissa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who command-

x Polyb. l. iv. p. 325.—330. y Ibid. p. 330.—336.

* These people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom.

ed the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thousand natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except one hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis *, in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion, that no one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with success; for, first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was of the most signal service; assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to oblige them, and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infest or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired into Olympia.

[z] Among the several courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great ascendant over his sovereign, whose governor he had been; but, as generally happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the

* A city of Arcadia.

z Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

same condition in which Thessaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain shadow of liberty; and to accustom them to the yoke, he spared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated upon that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a statesman, who having so shamefully abused his master's confidence, had therefore deserved to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip showed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And, indeed, he possessed all those which can endear a king to his people; such as, a lively genius, an happy memory, easy elocution, and an affected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please universally; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: so that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

[a] Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera, a very strong city, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

[b] At this time Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori, who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus' house, intending to kill him; but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Clio then went into the

a Polyb. l. iv. p. 339.—343. b Idem. p. 343, 344.

great square of the city, and exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprising to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not so much as suffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus' laws; and especially their introducing gold and silver into Sparta; which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

[c] Philip, being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him. For this purpose, he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his discourses with him, he hinted, that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he, Philip, would have no power, and would be as much subject to their laws and usages, as the meanest of their citizens; whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign, and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king; and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself

c Polyb. l. iv. p. 344.—349

in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than to make the least attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A person being chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily, he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs, on one side of Aratus' innocence, and on the other of Apelles' black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and would have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal to his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart; that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them; and on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in presence of the man whom he charged with them; and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king,

not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge: That the justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict inquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgement. In confidence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus' demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: but how would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dymnæ, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus' request, and found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly, Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any punishment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals which are almost inseparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the other two, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant over them; the former of the two last presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and the second had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give the employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them; for, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ either praise or slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man worthy

of the king's more intimate confidence; he did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus, a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it, for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs to the king himself.

[d] I before observed, that Philip, having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels, he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was made to furnish him with fifty talents * the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat: and that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen † talents a-month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters, and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his credit diminish, and was exasperated to see the

d Polyb. l. iv. p. 350.—365.

* Fifty thousand crowns.

† Seventeen thousand crowns.

counsels of Aratus followed, and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister who was best acquainted with, and then actually in, the administration of them. How villainous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidents, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopped the convoys of money which were sending to the king; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip, having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ; and sailing from thence to Cephalenia *, laid siege to Paleis, a city whose situation would be of great advantage to him as a place of arms, and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to these, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach of six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken: but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprise. Deputies had arrived also from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced

* An island in the Ionian Sea.

this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops; declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa; and marching about sixty furlongs, he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath; but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius' advice was manifestly traitorous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out that instant, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it, the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great must have been their surprise, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, were burned to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least two thousand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broken to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls:

Remember DIUM; DIUM *sends you this.*

Doubtless, the horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inspired Philip and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes, and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta, so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it: on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; restoring their prisoners without ransom; himself taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to such of the prisoners

as were most in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers, even through imprudence, to do the least injury to the temples, and other sacred places: and a circumsance still more worthy our admiration; in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burned most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and reverenced all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to show himself their successor more in moderation and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish cities and citadels; to fill up harbours, to take men and ships, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy, and increase his own: but to destroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break statues, and such ornaments of a city, in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, showed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to sea, was to go and surprise the city of Thermæ, during the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and which prevented their seizing some passes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopped short. Some rivers were to be passed: it was necessary for them to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia by a swift countermarch. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors, to lighten his army, to leave his baggage. He goes through the straits without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the skies; so well he

had concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was fully as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts, expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprise so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and dispatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt, and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough, but that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem, in forming extraordinary enterprises, and in giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion; and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels. After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. [e] Plutarch, who advances what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to suffer himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he offered sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving, for the success they had given to his arms; and made a splendid banquet for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they discovered their animosity against

e Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

Aratus by the most injurious and most shocking railleries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that he would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, "Who has been "so bold," says he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw "him into prison?"——"It is I," answered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

[f] During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterprise against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis, in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia forced him to hasten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions passed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars, to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition

[f] Polyb. l. v. p. 365.—372.

* Twenty thousand crowns.

was almost as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found the ambassadors of Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king dissembling his real intentions, told them that they had always wished, and still did so, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose their masters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible, to remove and destroy all those who either opposed or were suspected by them; and seeing with grief that those secret practices had not been as successful as they had flattered themselves, they therefore resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their interest. The greatest part of their army had staid in Corinth, and they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young people, fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the greatest courtiers; and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not

entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those against him enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it advisable to come to an open rupture, lest he should enflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentments, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it was not easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected. Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, disposed all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king, being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his, Apelles' will. It is certain, that he arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourse to him only. In all the cities of Greece, scarce the least mention was made of the king; for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgements passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprised of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude; but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all

the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendour, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace; which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate, having been instructed before, stopped him short, and told him that his Majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he no ways expected, he considered for some time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. * Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him, vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house, followed only by his domestics. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to shew their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value; as princes please to extend or withdraw their favour, to-day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery, and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplice pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; whether he did not think his power strong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; still allowed him the honour of his conversation sometimes, and left him some other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some extraordinary occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison; the pretended reason

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiæ non sua vi nixæ.—Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 19.

of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leontius sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence; that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt, and the highest injury; such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king; but that, in case Leontius was imprisoned for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambassadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days truce. These assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negociate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately from Lechæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived there after two days sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis, to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions; to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however, he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. A little after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one side, inspired the young prince as it naturally should, with sentiments of regard, esteem

respect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgement, or penetration. When he was arrived at more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over whom the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

[g] In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprises. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country; then coasting Attica along the Euripas, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of Macedonians.

g Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.
* A city of maritime Thessaly.

All these incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœlosyria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Epiratus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; nobody obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havoc was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

[h] Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that, having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

[i] After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last, the besieged, fearing they should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

h Polyb. l. v. p. 435. i A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired; and that they had only to inquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king shewed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause; that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example; that if he was desirous of the sovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy; that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and who, besides, was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest, a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince, he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negociate a peace: and, at the earnest desire of the Ætolians, he soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians, by the ambassadors of the

confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon; so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace, concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake Thrasymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia [k]; all these events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the first separate conference held in presence of the king and the ambassadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his history. He says, it were to be wished that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; and that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if, breathing only the same sentiments, they should all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to secure themselves from the insults of the Barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and consult for the preservation of all Greece: That, to be sensible of the necessity of such an union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war: That it was evident to every one who was ever so little versed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily, but would doubtless extend their projects much farther: That all the Greeks in general, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened: That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of his atempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he should labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom: That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprises; and by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom: That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprise, he need but turn his arms towards the west, and keep an eye on

k A. M. 3787.

the events of the war in Italy: That provided he would only put himself into a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself, all things would smooth the way for the universal empire: That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season: That he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper: That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprising genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the sequel of this history is upon the point of showing to us.

SECTION IV.

PHILIP CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH HANNIBAL. THE ROMANS GAIN A CONSIDERABLE VICTORY OVER HIM.

THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans [l], who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic Sea, now called the Gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the success of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of those powers it would be his interest to join. [m] But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively, all his doubts were removed. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice, that he had been dispatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them a convoy for their safety. Being arrived in Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of two "hundred sail, and lay waste the sea coasts; and should assist "the Carthaginians both by sea and land: That the latter, "at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and "Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils: That "after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, "and there make war against any power the king should no-"minate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the "islands lying towards Macedonia, should be enjoyed by

l Liv. xxiii. n. 33, 34, et 38.
m A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

"Philip, and annexed to his dominion." Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip for his ratification of it; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by [n] Polybius, express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty, and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes' lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans, attacked so vigorously by Hannibal, then were, and their discovering a new enemy, so very powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For, without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprise that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

[o] Philip was now wholly employed on his great design of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprise; not so much out of zeal for the interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and he would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent

n Polyb. l. vii. p. 502.—507.
o Ibid. l. v. p. 439, et 445.—447.

in all his enterprises. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

[p] During the winter season, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means surprise the enemies when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty vessels for him; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in the naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situated on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundusium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way, and entered the city in the night unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and three thousand of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward, after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

p Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

q For some time Philip, who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation, and wisdom he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states, not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer, as formerly, his glory in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind: the too common effect of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only soured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge, on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the stratagems possible to over-reach and surprise the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the most dissolute life: for he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law, a subject of the greatest grief to him, and which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus' great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to em-

q Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

ploy open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidents, to dispatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus' familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of them poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness; but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprised, he said, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of "royal friendship." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place were he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpse from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called Aratium. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually: the first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called Soteria; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre: and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia: it was he at least who brought it to the form and splendour it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable error in calling in to the assistance of that common-

wealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of the great Cleomenes, king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince being become completely wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poison, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses; insomuch that, though he was at this time very young, and in the bloom of his life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

[r] About this time Philip engaged in a successful expedition against the Illyrians. He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and, for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they should infallibly defeat him; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

[s] M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to bring over some of his allies, of whom the Æto-

r Polyb. l. viii. p. 519.—521.
s A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 211. Liv. l. xxvii. n. 24.—26.

lians were the most powerful, from his interest. He therefore began by sounding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having assured himself of them, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, who proved it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who should have concluded an alliance with them: That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them: That the Romans had already humbled their pride; and would oblige them, not only to give up such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even gave them cause to fear for their own countries: That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them, when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state, and Dorimachus, who of all the citizens had the greatest credit and authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the prætor, and said many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most, was the hope of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Ellis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians should declare war as soon "as possible against Philip; that the Romans should furnish "them, at least, twenty-five gallies, quinqueremes, or of five "benches of oars; that such cities as should be taken from "Achaia, as far as the island of* Corcyra, should be possessed

* Corfu.

" by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by the Ro-
" mans; that the Romans should aid the Ætolians in mak-
" ing themselves masters of Acarnania; that the Ætolians
" should not be allowed to conclude a peace with Philip, but
" upon condition that he should be obliged to withdraw his
" troops out of the territories of the Romans, and those of
" their allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the same
" terms." Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business and so many enemies upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, makes preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans, yet they took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, they sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty, and those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oaths; and only desired the Epirots to bury, in the same grave, all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them: " *Here lie* " *the Acarnanians, who did fight for their country, against the* " *violence and injustice of the Ætolians.*" Full of courage they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great resolution and bravery terrified the Ætolians, who also received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra *, which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him that he had been nominated con-

* A city of Achaia in Phocis.

sul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

[t] In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chleneas, their representative or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ, and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lysiscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer Barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your ancestors," continued he, "throw into a well the man who came, in Xerxes' name, "to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with that "monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his "three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it "not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? "And now you are advised to give them up to other Barba-

t Polyb. l. ix. p. 561.—571.

" rians, who, the more moderate they appear, are so much the " more dangerous. As to the Ætolians," says he, " if it be " possible for them to stoop so low, they may dishonour them- " selves by so shameful a prevarication; this, indeed, would " be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to " glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of inte- " rest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders " of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that " glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are repeated, goes no farther; and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shews that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly against him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

[u] P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to succour the Ætolians, the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhus, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia *. Pyrrhus had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good-will for

[u] A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 29.—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 613.

* A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis. † A city of Thessaly.

the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians and their confederates paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired; and even gave him access to those cities, out of Egypt, which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies he himself was sincerely desirous of peace, and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left four thousand of his troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendour of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busied in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy, and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advanced as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day, he laid waste the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew

near the city in battle-array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out, but Philip was greatly surprised to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius, having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. ° The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution; and, preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot in the midst of the cavalry, and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a castle, into which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand head of cattle of all sorts; an advantage which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately set out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thousand five hundred men Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after, the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage.

° Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

SECTION V.

EDUCATION AND GREAT QUALITIES OF PHILOPŒMEN.

PHILOPŒMEN [y], of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus. He was nobly educated by Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.

Being come to years of discretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcesilaus, founder of the new academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called "the last of the Greeks," as Brutus was afterwards called "the last of the Romans;" undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness: but as to his gentleness, patience, and moderation, with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his headstrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military and political virtue.

And indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the

y Plut. in Philop. p. 356.—361.

javelin. And as he seemed, by his muscles and stature, to be very well made for wrestling, and some particular friends advising him to apply himself to it, he asked them, whether this exercise of the athletæ contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the athletæ, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted; that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the athletic exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw, like one of his slaves, and sleep so till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed it in ransoming the citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion sake, but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must entreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgement of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car, crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappiness they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgements. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called the Tactics, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array, and the histories of Alexander the Great; for it was his opinion, that words should always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tactics, he did not value the seeing demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to: for in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as vallies; all the irregularities of the ground; the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take

by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves: and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalised himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. However, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court-life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school; so that he made a great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was to inquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble nor suffer such a degeneracy. He himself, therefore, went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, on such spots as would admit of the greatest number of spectators. By this practice he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, were performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this

cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks; nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprises was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence; and, which was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed subjected his state to them. But the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, and as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields; gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense; and this was to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expence. I say, to restrain; imagining that it would not be possible for him to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and outward ornaments. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with a love for another kind of munificence, viz. to

distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dyes; coats of mail for horsemen, and cloaks for the soldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Pomp, in all other things which attract the eye, says Plutarch, infallibly induces luxury; and inspires all those, who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence; the senses, enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. [z] Plutarch observes, that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers not to be superfluous on any other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendour of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious; and engage such as are of a covetous temper to exert themselves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable profession. The author in question tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was his bestowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of * Cæsar, who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of so great a value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals, no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. [a] Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes of the little advantage which splendour is to an army, would not allow

z Plut. in Brut. p. 1001. a Ibid. in Lucullo, p. 496.

* Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem, et quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni.—Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 67.

such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, said * to his troops, that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always consequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that † Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgement of Philopœmen, who, seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it advisable to banish it entirely, but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendour consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and diligence. They were prodigiously pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived, that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter,

* Horridum militem esse debere, non cœlatum auro argentoque, sed ferro et animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam verius quam arma esse: nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam sequi: et ditem hostem quamvis pauperis, victoris, præmium esse.—Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

† Aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma gestantem. Irent, et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent.—Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

because they took greater delight in carrying them, from their splendour and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them embrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince. The war which broke out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and especially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius; and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to whatever is greatest: but then they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendour, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, such as philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the discipline of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the military knowledge, to study it in all its parts, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it: how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished, and why should we not wish it? that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our

armies this taste of the ancients, for simplicity, frugality, and generosity; and direct the taste of the French nation to things truly beautiful, solid, and just! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECTION VI.

EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AND SULPITIUS. A DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS UPON SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

WE [b] have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina. As soon as spring appeared they had quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty gallies. Philip, on the other side, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture, and the necessity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotusa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa, which lies very near it, and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain these signals hereafter.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it under Philip, surrendered treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the pro-

b A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5.—8.

consul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait, * in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as, says Livy, is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; so that the ships can never ride there in safety.

Attalus besieged Opuntus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † sixty miles in one day. The city had been just taken before he arrived at it; and he might have surprised Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated a project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games, repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus were sailed away, his did the same.

‡ Philip was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men

* Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et venti ab utriusque terræ prærultis montibus subiti ac procellosi se dejiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocat; sed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monti præcipiti devolutas torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur.—Liv.

† So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

‡ Philippus mœrebat et angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptum esset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse; et rapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam.—Liv.

to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest dispatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits; that this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies. After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS, ON THE SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself: and besides, it bears so near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of great length, and which the reader may pass over if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almost verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the same signals made by fire; but then he only hints at them, because, as they were not invented by the Romans, consequently this was a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this artifice of the signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks, and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed in all things relative to it, and the astonishing progress they had made [c], in respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military signals.

As the making of signals by fire, says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is

c Polyb. l. x. p. 614.—618.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, et Peparethum mitti, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent; ipse in Tisæo (mons est in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublatis, signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet.—Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5.

of great advantage in all things, but especially in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then transacting, they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this help, the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly, this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to the making use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon: and, as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known, at a distance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, a treason, an horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas *, who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another, upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two vessels of earth exactly equal in breadth and depth; and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of the vessels, but not quite so wide, that they may be let down with ease to the bottom of these vessels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided exactly

* Æneas was contemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus' counsellors, made an abridgement of it. Pyrrhus also wrote on the same subject.—Ælian. Tact. cap. 1. Cicero mentions the two last in one of his epistles. "Summum me ducem literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane "nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lecti-"tasse."—Lib. ix. Epist. 25. ad Papir. Poetam.

and distinctly by spaces of three inches each, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be written: "A body of horse are marched into "the country." On another: "A body of infantry, heavily "armed, are arrived hither." On a third: "Infantry lightly "armed." On a fourth: "Horse and foot." On another: "Ships." Then "Provisions;" and so on, till all the events which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as these vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both sides.

When they are well assured of this, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed; water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. In proportion as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light, is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. This first signal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive. Then the torch or other light must be taken away, and the cocks set open. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up the torch; and on the other side, the correspondent signal-maker immediately turns the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is written on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal, which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is imposible

to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there could be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived; nor the quantity of provisions we have. For before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, or in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions, are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenes, which others ascribe to Democlitus; however, we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required is great care and exactness. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order, on five columns; five letters on each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that, if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two; and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must ob-

serve and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several things being fixed, and each of them got to his post, the man who gives the signal must have a * geometrical instrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten feet broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches, which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given, that "An hundred "Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy." First, he must make choice of such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as "Cretans, or Kre-"tans †, an hundred have deserted," which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. He must then lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is, a K.

Afterwards, four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P ‡, which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reason why two sets of lights are used, is, because every letter must be pointed out twice; the first, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to shew its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice; but it must be practised a long time, before they will be able to be very exact in the operation.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well

* The figure of it was annexed at the end of this little treatise.
† The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.
‡ This is the capital letter R in the Greek tongue.

known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, "The art of making signals both by sea and land." The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms that he communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues, in as short a space of time as a man could write down and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate, an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but, in my opinion, such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus, it is related that both flying, nd each being arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out to the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince; where the she-sentinel, appointed to watch that signal, declares she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find * by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succours, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts,

d Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

* Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar, imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est.---Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. ii.

which were catched from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans, at sun-rise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening at Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

[e] We are told of a much shorter method. It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of sentinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa, upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues, in forty-eight hours.

It is also related, that a * Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from so great a distance as between his hereditary kingdom and his most remote conquest in India: but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: however, he soon repented it, and very justly, for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

[f] Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena, besieged by Anthony, who prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says † Pliny, were Anthony's intrenchments and sentinels to him? Of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his route through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are fastened about the pigeons necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

[e] Cœl. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8. [f] Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

* Vigenere, in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.

† Quid vallum, et vigil obsidio, atque etiam retia amne prætexta profuere Antonio, per cælum eunte nuntio?

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTRUMENT EMPLOYED IN SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

Mr Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the instrument described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

A B is a beam about four or five feet long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, C D, E F, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam, and three or four feet long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and an half or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be driven in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six lines in diameter *, shall project seven or eight lines above the superficies of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders, G H, I K, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity, (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood C D, E F, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to

* Twelfth part of an inch.

prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend some lines beyond the superficies of the plates, and in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates, about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be given.

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that, when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam A B must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot L M N O P, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferenters, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and survey, &c.; but it has the same uses, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have the like instrument; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens P Q, which are to denote the right or left hand of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstance of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius' ideas might be put into execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use for giving signals at a considerable distance; for it is certain, that, how large soever this machine be, signals made by two, three, four, and five torches will not be seen at five, six, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide-spreading fires, of whole loads

of straw or wood; and consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius' time; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments might have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: but I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate advice to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a siege, in order to taking proper measures; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECTION VII.

PHILOPŒMEN GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY NEAR MANTINEA, OVER MACHANIDAS, TYRANT OF SPARTA.

THE Romans [g], wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

[h] In the first, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of their dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit; but of the neatness and splendour of their arms, an object worthy of men intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, insomuch that, at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words, for then it is scarce possible to resist his exhortations. This was the charac-

g A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. h Polyb. l. xi. p. 629.—631.

ter of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation, he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions; and, for himself, he was sure never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study during his life, to speak nothing but the truth; and, indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

[i] Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinæa, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry, composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with * catapultæ, and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some † Tarentine horse, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

i Polyb. l. xi. 631.—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 391.

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

† The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses.—Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he caused all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones; however, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, gave them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers, who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested, That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or being in confusion, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit.

Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that instant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, and pursues, without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till further orders; and at the same time directed Polybius *, the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks, and flying as the rest had done, had drawn off, to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from their pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elated with the first success of their wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether, from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, because it was dry, and had no hedge; and besides being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be sounded. His troops levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. These, who at their descending into the ditch, had broke their ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the

* The late translator of Polybius mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian was not born at that time. It is true, indeed, that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error more excusable.

ditch, having been killed, either by the Achæans or their own soldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, the business now was to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when, being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited, and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horse; so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse, and springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and, being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which statue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and disposed all things necessary for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning, (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflections), Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as some have imagined, but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated:

or if, being stopped by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprise, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in his not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side, and in which, by that means, one may follow, as it were with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers, observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that these, I say, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

[k] It is related, that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces upon account of the festival, he caused his phalanx, very splendidly clothed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to shew with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre, in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success, under this illustrious general, had inspired them.

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the Persians of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verse:

> "The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
> The brightest crown the gods bestow."

k A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

* This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the 95th Olympiad, i. e. 398 years before Jesus Christ. One of his pieces was entitled "The Persians."

These lofty verses being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory; so greatly did a general like Philopœmen increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are displeased, and prance about with their new rider; the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived, and were ready for action; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be a more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it possible for any man to be so tasteless and void of sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables? Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do, but then he placed it in what it really consists; the clothing his troops splendidly; providing them with good horses and shining arms; supplying, with a generous hand, all their wants, both public and private; distributing money seasonably, to encourage the officers, and even private men. In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous

of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence, studious of nothing but to make itself new chains, or support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, who though a worse tyrant, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

[1] Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the solid foundations of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose, he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were most distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to his creatures. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the Exiles. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens; he acted in such a manner, that they could not find any secure asylum, even in foreign countries; some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries; and he recalled others from banishment, with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine, which may be called an infernal one, resembling a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person, to extort money from him, he would first declare, in the kindest and most gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was exposed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of his government; the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the public. In case the person spoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted; but if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the talent of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that "Apega will have some effect upon you." This Apega was

[1] Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

his wife. He no sooner uttered these words, but this machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms, and breast of this machine, were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and, laying hers round his waist, clasped him into her bosom, whilst he vented the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe, that a man could be so completely wicked, as to contrive in cold blood, such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmost detestation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men, as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty; it is astonishing, I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

[m] I have already observed, that the Romans, employed in a most important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with considerable aids; ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies, with the proconsul's leave, to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace, Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage

m A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

with greater vigour, a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king of Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

SECTION VIII.

THE GLORIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIOCHUS. AT HIS RETURN RECEIVES ADVICE OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR'S DEATH.

The history of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions of Asia, and therefore we now return to them.

[n] Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched towards the east, to reduce the provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began with Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is seven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the least piece of timber is visible; the joists, the beams, the ceilings, and columns which sustained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still

n A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212, Polyb. l. x. p. 597.—602.

surrounded with gilt columns; and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus' image; the whole amounting to four thousand talents, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Arsaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one except those who know the country can find them. On this occasion a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from Mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner those subterraneous canals, for such were the wells here spoken of, were built, and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

[e] When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

e A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

[p] The year following, he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media; Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that, in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.

[q] However, he was mistaken; for as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringes, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

[r] In the mean time Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he re-assembled troops, which at last formed an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus, perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where, by length of time, he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him for terminating so tedious a war.

[s] At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

[t] Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already shewn, in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son, of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. [u] The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria; but they were all rendered ineffectual by the

p A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.
q A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.
r Justin. l. xli. c. 5.
s A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.
t A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207.
u Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621. et l. xi. p. 651, 652.

valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

At last he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus' ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that, should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. [x] This reflection made an impression on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of King. The other articles of the treaty were put in writing; and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus' elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed Mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to one hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

[y] He passed the winter in the last country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at

x A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. y A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprises, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

[z] A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was scarce above twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

z A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS chapter includes twenty-four years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval, the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus king of Syria, who also is defeated, and forced to sue for peace. At the same time, feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

SECTION I.

PTOLEMY EPIPHANES SUCCEEDS PHILOPATOR IN EGYPT. TROUBLES WHICH SOON FOLLOW.

I RELATED in the preceding book, how Ptolemy Philopator, [a] worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired, were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be easily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibes in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to dispatch him.

a A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 713. —720.

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was assembled, in which Agathocles and Agathoclea were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told him that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reason, he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined, that, by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately dispatched, and that, in consequence, he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and Œinanthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared: The usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people, and who never punish those who resemble themselves.

Philammon, the assassin who had been hired to murder Arsinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and, taking this opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibes, son to him who had governed during

* Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or to those to whom the same privileges had been granted.

the three last reigns. History does not inform us whether he was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he passed above threescore years in the administration. [b] No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibes. He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoe daughter of that Lysimachns; of Magas son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and lastly, of Arsinoe daughter of Berenice. It is surprising that, notwithstanding a conduct of so much inhumanity and cruelty in his administration, he should support himself so long, and at last come to a peaceable end.

[c] Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Cœlosyria and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes, that the large ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes. But it fully justified its conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following their example.

b Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

c A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707. et 708.

For whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities, as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

[d] During that time, Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Meletus.

[e] The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting the city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from their foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, three thousand Macedonians, and six thousand allies; and two thousand Macedonians and confederates, with seven hundred Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons: the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had stopped even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sensible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men, either by sea or land, in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it visibly damped his natural vivacity.

[f] Nevertheless, the ill success of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was to be

d Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70. et 73.

e A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

f A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733.—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709.—711.

unshaken in his resolutions; and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cianians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Cianians, was a small city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it at the request of his son-in-law, Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Cianians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens; and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is surprising they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages; which shows, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him, and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestos in Europe. The distance between these two cities was about two miles. The reader will suppose, that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the straits, and made those who were possessed of it masters of the communication between the Euxine sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting

and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have rose to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, but they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydonians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding that the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other, they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: that such forces as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe-conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydonians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the besieged, in transports of despair, assembled together, to consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution: first, that the slaves should be set at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour: secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana; and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: that this being done, they then should bring into the great square all the gold and silver in the city, and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the * Quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cizycenians. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most ancient of the citizens, but who at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what should have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inward wall, they should kill the women and children, set fire to the two galleys, laden with their effects, and throw

* Quadriremes were gallies with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with three.

into the sea all the gold and silver which they had heaped together: then, sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand; and, after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce, before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault; yet, when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydonians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury; and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they rushed furiously upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, broke the sarissæ or long spears of others, and with the pieces struck their faces and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and those who had escaped, were so prodigiously fatigued, and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip, by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip; during which the greatest part of the Abydonians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens, and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated

citizens, whom despair had made so furious and distracted, some were strangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their swords; some were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopped the soldiers, who were greedy of plunder, and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

[g] A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously, with regard to the Romans, terminated the second Punic war. [h] The court of Egypt, being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had addressed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch had desired it at his death. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had some differences, which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil,

g A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. h Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. 3. et l. xxxi. c. 1. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1. 2. et 18.

for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprises of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos at the time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece, nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians: That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that, if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. "But," says Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the Athenians and Abydonians at-"tack you first?" Philip *, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; "Your age," says he to the ambassador, "your "beauty," for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person, "and especially the Roman name, exalt "your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wish "your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has "concluded with me; but, in case I should be invaded by it, "I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not "yield to Rome either in valour or reputation." The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer; and Philip, having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

* Insueto vera audire, ferocior oratio visa est, quam quæ habenda apud regem esset. Ætas, inquit, et forma, et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primum velim vos fœderum memores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacesseritis, mihi quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minus quam Romanum nobile bello sentiatis.—Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very properly to Antiochus. Æmilius, being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

[i] In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the grand mysteries were solemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbidden. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

[k] The Athenians carried their complaints against this enterprise to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia. This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it adviseable to prevent the enterprises of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor, to advance

i Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

k Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1.—3.

towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

[l] In the mean time the Roman senate deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in person; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the proprætor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

[m] Upon this news, the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty galleys, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose; having taken the field in person against Attalus and the Rhodians.

SECTION II.

EXPEDITIONS OF SULPITIUS. PHILIP LOSES A BATTLE. THE ACHÆANS DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS.

Claudius Cento [n], whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with securing the city and country around it; but having advice that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the sentinels asleep, entered it without molestation; set fire to the public magazines which were full of corn, and to the arsenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garrison

l Liv. l. xxxi. n. 5.
Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.
Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22.—28.

m A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.
n A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.

to pieces; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither in hopes of surprising the Romans. However, they were gone; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to be spectator of that city still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers called Hemerodromi *, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that this stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in battle-array without the walls, at the gate Dipylos; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it advisable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country-seats, on the place for the public exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places. He marched from hence with a view of surprising Eleusia, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when, hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his incursions. Philip offered to charge himself entirely with that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. However, he added a condition, which abated it very much; that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they should not leave the places behind him without defence, whilst he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage it in the war against the Romans. Cycliadus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing, that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate

* They were so called from running a great number of miles in one day.

on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works, as remained in the country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

[o] The consul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment, under the command of Apustius the lieutenant, who laid waste the plains, and took several small cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians to their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors; he who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the treaties of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, at Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, nor magistrates; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, that if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners, says he, who differ from us more by their "language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide "distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should "dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to "expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same "country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, "and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise "with little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with Barbarians, we, whilst we are Greeks, are and "shall for ever be at war. This time three years you con"cluded a peace with Philip in this very place; now the

o Liv. l. xxxi. n. 27.—32.

"same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in "the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion on Athens, and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power only that of the gods could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonians, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented, in a short but strong and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to confine my speech "to what directly relates to you," says the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, "we engage in the war "against Philip, in no other view but to defend you; and "you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly "you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us "employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being "awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever con-"ditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on "the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, ne-"glected a war which you had renounced. However, having "now put an end, thanks to the gods, to the Carthaginian war, "we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against "Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to

"our friendship and alliance, unless you should chuse to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the "Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now, he said, might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest party.

[p] In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ, and Philip had also taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed upon the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service, caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory. * Nothing is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. This spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons than arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gashes made by the Spanish sabres, whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped away, and heads separated from their bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemies they were to act.

[p] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæstimabile est, quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur, factorum, id metum pigritiamque incussit.—Liv.

The king himself, who had never seen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and posted himself at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence, which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, * That what he saw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horse and the other foot; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided, with no less prudence, an ambuscade which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept; and for that reason he lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles distance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers dipersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plain, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march, and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers.

* The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.

There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers, ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way; whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter; during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out, and succour their comrades wherever they could; as for himself, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in an hollow square against the enemy. The troopers being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first; being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought at different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which, by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army; not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king and the Cretans, who fought close together, and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers who fled, perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy, who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before, now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the sword, but several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger: for having been thrown by his horse, which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it; but the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having

taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated to those of the military profession, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army; and suffer themselves to be deprived, through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have secured.

However, Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a second, and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore dispatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great uumber of fires in his camp, set out from it, without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

[q] Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to take up arms, declared without the least hesitation for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both people made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

[r] In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus, and came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them

q Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39.—43.

r Liv. l. xxxi. n. 44.—47.

to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful a succour. In a free city * like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed; that the festivals, sacrifices, and priests, established in their honour, should be abolished; that every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraven, relating to them, should be declared impure and profane; that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies and fleets, should also utter anathemas and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by sea and land; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, That whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people; and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed upon the spot without any formality. This last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratides, should take place against Philip. In this manner the † Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands; after which Attalus and the Romans separated, and went into winter-quarters.

[s] In Rome, the year following, new consuls being chosen, Villius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made the several preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with ragard to the success of the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he

s A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49. et l. xxxi. n. 3.

* Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam; quod genus, eum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur.—Liv.

† Atheniensis quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.—Liv.

was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to states, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath, which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a strong tie, such a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty, as he himself professed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor shew the least veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

[t] As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious as not to scruple the commission of the blackest crimes, had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the finished villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meanest and most grovelling manner towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined that powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned an universal joy among the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject,

t Polyb. l. xiii. p. 672, 673.

history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or carry off convoys. [u] T. Quintus * Flamininus having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out from Rome at the opening of the spring with Lucius his brother, who, by the leave of the senate, was to command the fleet.

At the beginning of the year in question, Antiochus invaded Attalus very rigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. They intreated the Romans, in Attalus' name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The senate made answer, That as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus' demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces; that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed against Philip their common enemy; that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Cœlosyria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had intrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. [x] The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he raised

u A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9.—15.

x A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.

* Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, these being two different families.

the best troops he could. [y] He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. [z] This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought six thousand soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

[a] The ministers of Alexandria, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia Minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœlosyria, to recover, if possible, those provinces. He carried on that war so successfully, that he recovered the several cities, retook Judæa, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought, besides the glory of his victories, exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus' being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

[b] He had no sooner arrived there in person, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the ten thousand men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that, being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to

y Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43. z Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

a A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in c. xi. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

b A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex. Polyb. p. 77. &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

accept of the ignominious conditions above mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

[c] Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and, returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœlosyria.

[d] The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities. Being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

[e] Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that descended many of those * who were "dispersed or scattered abroad," whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel-times.

Antiochus, having thus subjected all Cœlosyria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquest in Asia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. [f] As it would be necessary, for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should

c Excerp. ex Polyb. p. 57, et Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.
d Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. e Joseph. Ibid.
f Hierom. in c. xi. Daniel.

* They are thus called by St James and St Peter: "To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad," James i. 1. "To the strangers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," 1. Peter i. 1.

be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

[g] I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintus Flamininus, by either of which names I shall call him hereafter, had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived at Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epiros and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to remove too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip, having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians, having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and balistæ, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds, who fed their sheep on these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that

[g] A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them as their guarantee, Charops, son of Machatas, the person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having such a voucher, sends a general with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprise, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon between them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the summit of it, with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fell upon the Macedonians, who, seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, were struck with a panic, and fled with the utmost speed. However, not above two thousand of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition, than to their past fault: a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he took the most considerable of them. Artax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it.

[h] In the mean time the Roman fleet, reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariste, garrisoned by Macedonians; after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchræa, a port of Corinth.

The consul marching into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatea was the only city that shut her gates against him; so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and to join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors, sent in the consul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received, from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was universally suspected upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip; the Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassador should advance. They spoke with the greatest virulency against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that all those who intended to speak might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans, in order that the assembly might not break up without doing

h Liv. l. xxxii. n. 16.—25.

business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of that "warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute, at "your tables, and in your conversations, about Philip and the "Romans, which generally rose to so great a height, that "you were ready to cut one another's throats? And now, in "an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing "the speeches and arguments on both sides, you are mute! "Surely, if the love of your country cannot loose your tongues, "ought not the resolution which each of you has formed in "private, either for or against Philip and the Romans, to ob-"lige you to speak; especially as there is none of you but "knows, that it will be too late after the resolution shall be "once taken!"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion; nor even occasioned the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristenes then spoke again to this effect: "Chiefs of the "Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want courage more "than counsel; since not one among you dares to speak his "sentiments, with regard to the common interest. Was I a "private man, I possibly might act as you do; but being the "chief magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either "that the ambassadors should not have been allowed to as-"semble us, or that they should not be dismissed without "some answer. Now, how will it be possible for me to make "any, unless you authorised me by a decree? But, since not "one among you will, or dares speak his thoughts, let us "suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the ambassadors "which we heard yesterday, are so many counsels they give, "not for their own interest, but purely for ours; and let us "weigh them maturely. The Romans, the Rhodians, and At-"talus, desire our friendship and alliance; and they request us "to assist them in their war against Philip. On the other side, "the latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we concluded "with him, and sealed and ratified by an oath; one moment "he requires us to join with him, and the next he insists upon "our observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you "surprised to hear those, who are not yet our allies, demand "more than he who has long been a confederate? Doubtless, "it is not either modesty in Philip, nor temerity in the Ro-"mans, which prompts them to act and speak as they do.

"This difference in their sentiments arises from the disparity "of their strength and situation. My meaning is, we see no- "thing here belonging to Philip but his ambassador; where- "as the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near Cenchræa, laden "with the spoils of Eubœa; and the consul and his legions, "who are but at a little distance from the fleet, lay waste "Phocis and Locris with impunity. You are surprised that "Cleomedon, Philip's ambassador, should have advised you, "in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take up arms in fa- "vour of the king against the Romans. If, in consequence of "the treaty in question, and of the oath on which he lays "such stress, we should require Philip to defend us against "Nabis, the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would not "have any answer to make, much less would he be able to "give us any real succour. This we experienced last year, "when, notwithstanding the express words of our alliance, and "the mighty promises he made us, he suffered Nabis and the "Lacedæmonians to ravage our lands without opposition. In "my opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict "himself in every part of his speech. He spoke with con- "tempt of the war against the Romans, pretending it would "have the same success, as that which they had already made "with Philip. Why then does he implore our succour at "a distance, and by an ambassador, instead of coming and "defending us in person, we who are his ancient allies, a- "gainst Nabis and the Romans? Why did he suffer Eretria "and Cariste to be taken? Why has he abandoned so many "cities of Thessaly, and every part of Phocis and Locris! "Why does he suffer Elatea to be besieged at this instant? "Was it a superior strength, was it fear or his own will, that "made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give up to the "enemy those insuperable barriers, to go and conceal himself "in the most remote part of his kingdom? If he has volun- "tarily abandoned so many allies to the mercy of the enemy, "ought he to keep them from providing for their own safe- "ty? But, if he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive "the same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it, do "you, O Cleomedon! believe, that it is possible for us Achæ- "ans to make head against the Roman arms, to which the "Macedonians have been obliged to submit? No comparison "can be made between the past and the present war. The "Romans, at that time employed in affairs of greater impor- "tance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they have "put an end to the Punic war, which they sustained sixteen

"years in the centre of Italy, they do not send succours to "the Ætolians, but they themselves, at the head of their ar- "mies, invade Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third "consul whom they have sent against him, having found him "in a post which seemed inaccessible, did nevertheless force "him from it, plundered his camp, pursued him to Thessaly, "and took, almost in his sight, the strongest fortress be- "longing to his allies. I will take it for granted, that what- "ever the Athenian ambassador has advanced concerning the "cruelty, the avarice, and the excesses of Philip, is not true; "that the crimes which he committed in Attica do not any "way affect us, any more than those he perpetrated in many "other places against the gods, celestial, terrestrial, and infer- "nal; that we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion, the "injuries we have suffered from him. In a word, if we sup- "pose that we are not treating with Philip, but with Anti- "gonus, a mild and just prince, and from whom we all have "received the greatest services; would he make a demand "like that of to-day, so evidently opposite to our safety and "preservation? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should "come and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, "will it be possible for the king to support us against such "formidable enemies, or shall we be able to defend ourselves? "Past transactions point out to us what we must expect here- "after. The medium which is proposed, of our standing "neuter, will infallibly render us a prey to the conqueror, "who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who "waited for the event, before we would declare ourselves. "Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. "We must either have the Romans for our friends or for "our enemies; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, "to offer us their friendship and their aid. To refuse so "advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, "which will never return, would be the highest folly, and "show that we run voluntarily on our own destruction."

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates, called Demiurgi, were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pre- tence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass, any decree contrary to the alliance

concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the assembly to end. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, entreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety, and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers would not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymæans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed; and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides, and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it; at last Lucius acquiesced with the ad-

vice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful; for, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECTION III.

THE ÆTOLIANS AND NABIS DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS. PHILIP DEFEATED, AND A PEACE CONCLUDED.

NEW [i] consuls were appointed at Rome; but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, was justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

[k] The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris; when Philip sent an herald to him to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliadus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynander, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered

i A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27, et 28.

k Liv. l. xxxi. n. 32.—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742.—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

them; and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Phineas, their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: "We "are not met here merely about words; our business is, ei- "ther to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most "powerful."——"A blind man may see that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whose sight was bad. Philip * was very fond of jests, and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the most serious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming a prince.

This first interview being spent in contests, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly entreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace; promising, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed to, but on condition, that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, cities which he himself justly, though insolently, calls the shackles of Greece, it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a subject that would have spun to a great length, they were interrupted, and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified in a single demand. It was left to the option of

* Erat dicatior natura quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans.—Liv.

Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

[1] Philip was now firmly resolved to make the necessary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achæa, through their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, he was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possessions of such of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and those who staid behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and cheerfully, were not molested; but such as were either suspected to conceal their riches, or discovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. Nabis having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was master of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to such conditions of a treaty as he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted; in consequence of which the proconsul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a step which seemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty was con-

1 Liv. l. iii. n. 38.—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

cluded on those conditions. The alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and dispossessed them of all their riches; a little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable moveables, and all their precious stones and jewels.

[m] When the spring was come, for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter, Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces, and unguarded; but were greatly surprised when they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprise; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous, to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead; so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristhenes, captain-general of the Achæans, spoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not speak much, and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was

m Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2.

unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose or speak against it.

As Attalus' disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

[n] As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

[o] The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius, and Livy, who frequently copies him, shew the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a greater number of branches were spread, which made them

n Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

o Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754.—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3, 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce carry them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at most four branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Further, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest, and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number, two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, which were so closely intwined that no vacant place was left; besides which, all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not easily be removed, for two reasons; first, because it was driven so deep into the ground that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwoven, that it was impossible to pull up one, without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men put their whole strength to them, it yet was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet whenever, by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places, still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks; they were to be had every where, could be carried with ease, and were a strong palisade to a camp.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which turn on the usages and practice of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves, and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotusa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about a thousand light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them in the strongest terms to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first both parties were a little surprised at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to the general what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppose the enemy, dispatched a courier to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archidamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thousand men, with five hundred horse, which joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, dispatched Heraclides, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. These were the best soldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not refuse himself either to the repeated shouts or entreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Asia, and the whole East, subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. As to the proconsul, he put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained; on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and, to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: and, which ought to rouse their courage the more, Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East; and on the other conquerors of the West; the former, fired with the glorious atchievements of their ancestors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained; prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastens towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentesque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem.—Justin.

armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after, seeing them give way and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed; posts them, whether horse or foot, on the right wing; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The onset being begun, each side set up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage; for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broke and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded, that if he could break it, and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle in which its whole strength consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was, it not being in want of support, and considering the present disposition of the armies, consulting only his own reason, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear,

nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a complete victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who pursued his left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to await for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent as to send orders to Larissa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape. For they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found almost nothing in it. They reproached them first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest insults. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about seven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thousand, whereof eight thousand died in the field, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory; but then they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring, without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans, and spread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them, for their insolent reports in regard to

their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderness and caution in regard to allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things, and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus, who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce for burying the dead; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests; and was so polite as to bid the messenger tell the king, "That he de-"sired him not to despond." The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He assembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amynandrus, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty, even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, That if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken; that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; "You do not "know," says he, either the character of the Romans, my

"views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the "Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or "other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal "and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, "I never intended to make an irreconcileable war against "Philip; but was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever "he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed "him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which "were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving "Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with "such a design? How shameful are such sentiments! When "an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel "him with bravery and haughtiness; but when he is fallen, "it is the duty of the victor to shew moderation, gentleness, "and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their "interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should "be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns "their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That "kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and "Gauls *, who, were they not checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon Greece, as they have frequently done "before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion and that of the council was, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war; "I shall take care of that," replied the proconsul; "and shall take effectual methods to put it "out of his power to undertake any thing against us."

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after, the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute, whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent.

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

Only Phineas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace, was his having advice that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible, that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of the war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months truce; whereupon he received four hundred * talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages; and gave him permission to send to Rome, to receive such further conditions from the senate as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

[q] Whilst these measures were concerting, to bring about a general peace, some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above six thousand men; he was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments; some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.

[p] Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14.—19.

* Four hundred thousand French crowns.

[q] At Rome, the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and public prayers, during five days, were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war against Philip.

Some days after ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to his respective views and interests; but at last the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose; for the people approved of Flamininus' proposal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the senate appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to settle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome; but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

[r] The ten commissioners, who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: that all the * other cities of Greece, both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to

q A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24, et 27.—29.

r Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795.—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30.—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374.—376.

* The word *other*, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

them all the ships that had decks, five feluccas excepted, and the galleys having sixteen benches of rowers. That he should pay a thousand talents *; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment, Antiochus, seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, had actually resolved to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world, uniting their views and interests, invaded Rome at the same time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates; affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty, with which specious term the Romans covered their interested views: That they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flamininus to restore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece; and to put strong garrisons in them, to prevent their being

* About an hundred and ninety thousand pounds.

seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all conversations, and various constructions were put upon them; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice; "*The senate and* "*people of Rome, and Titus Quintius the general, having* "*overcome Philip and the Macedonians, ease and deliver* "*from all garrisons, and taxes, and imposts, the Corinthians,* "*the Locrians, the Phocians, the Eubœans, the Phthiot* "*Achæans, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Per-* "*rhœbians; declare them free, and ordain that they shall be* "*governed by their respective laws and usages.*"

At these * words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now, fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quam quod universum hominis caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse; alii alios intueri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem, quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos inter rogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quam libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum.—Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 32.

sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium; so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him, he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years, for he was not above thirty-three years old, and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever saw a more happy or more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice! It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance of so delightful a day *, and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "That there was "a people in the world, who, at their own expence and the "hazard of their lives, engage in a war for the liberty of other "nations; and that not for their neighbours, or people situat-"ed on the same continent, but who crossed seas, and sailed "to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust power "from the earth, and to establish universally, law, equity,

* Nec præsens omnium modo effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensa, sua labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstet; maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse; ad effectum adducere, virtutis et fortunæ ingentis.—Liv. n. 33.

"and justice. That by a single word, and the voice of a "herald, liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece "and Asia. That a great soul only could have formed such "a design; but that to execute it was the effect at once of the "highest good fortune, and the most consummate virtue."

[s] They call to mind all the great battles which Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. "After sustaining so many "wars," said they, "never was its valour crowned with so "blessed a reward, as when strangers came and took up arms "in its defence. It was then that, almost without shedding "a drop of blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the "greatest and noblest of all prizes for which mankind can "contend. Valour and prudence are rare at all times; but "of all virtues, justice is most rare. Agesilaus, Lysander, "Nicias, and Alcibiades, had great abilities for carrying on "war, and gained battles both by sea and land; but then it "was for themselves and their country, not for strangers and "foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was reserved "for the Romans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the present state of affairs; and the effects soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games; for the commissioners separated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed president of the Nemean games. He discharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the festival; and he also published by a herald at these games, as he had done at all the rest, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good ordinances in them, reformed laws, restored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels and seditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

[s] Plut. in Flamin.

It is related, that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, "I repay with "usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause "that all mankind praise him." But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only freely received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, to use Plutarch's expression *, the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly of the Greeks, which was held at Thermæ †, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared, and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not show so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them, that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

* φεὺ συνεθαπτομένυ.

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has translated justly Polybius in this place; ἐπί την τῶκ θερμικών σύνοδον. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

SECTION IV.

THE ROMANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO ANTIOCHUS. CONSPIRACY AGAINST PTOLEMY. SCOPAS PUT TO DEATH.

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus; for it was evident that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

[t] After having established good order in Cœlosyria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia Minor, and among these, of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs, and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the West; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of * Lysimachia all in ruins, the Thracians having demolished it a few years before, he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus, his second son; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

t A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38.—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de Bellis Syr. p. 86.—88.

* This city stood on the Isthmus or neck of the peninsula.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him; that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip, it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view than to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized. That with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia, than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his

fleet in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia, with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

[u] The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general, seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, his countrymen, imagined that, with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprised of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed, with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas' death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot safely be relied on.

One of Scopas' principal accomplices was Dicæarchus;

u Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771.—773.

who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well; but when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him, the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

[x] When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would still be more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of war: that the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant, Nabis, more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall

x A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44.—49. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus' steps. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested at Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans; but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information as to the fact; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that, before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspence whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but in reality to gain time, and spy what the enemy were doing.

[y] With regard to Greece, all the states, except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent I observed before, enjoyed the sweets

y Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22.—43.

* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peritum; nec minus in secundis adversa, quam in adversis, secunda cogitantem. Justin.

of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, "You perceive," said he, "that the subject "of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business "is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illus- "trious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its "liberty in common with the rest of the cities; or whether "it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has "seized it. This affair concerns the Romans, only as the "slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of "having entirely delivered Greece. Consider therefore what "is to be done, and your resolution shall determine my "conduct."

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear shewing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted of their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who, according to them, were Greeks only in name, but real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour; which was faithfully performed. Aristhenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse.

Philip sent fifteen hundred men as his quota, and the Thessalians four hundred horse. Quintius' brother arrived also with a fleet of forty gallies, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more advisable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for a thousand chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had three thousand other foreign troops in his service; and besides these, ten thousand natives of the country, exclusive of the helots.

At the same time, he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestic troubles. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and posting armed soldiers round them, after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed, whom, he said, he had no reason to fear provided things were quiet at home, he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a strong prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city, when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both sides; but at last the foreigners were broke, and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas;

and from thence ruined the valleys, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage: however, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent an herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans and Quintius himself had concluded with him in the war against Philip; an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated: That nothing had been changed on his part since the treaty: That he was then what he had always been; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose them. Accordingly, in his answer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: but, was he less covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it; as also to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny; for that otherwise, nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored: That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation; but the true reason was, his being appre-

hensive that a new council would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war; a motive which commonly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us besiege Sparta," says he, "since you think it "proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of "our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges often spin "out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us re- "solve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be "so: this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a "sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege: but "the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provi- "sions and convoys will be necessary. The winter, that is "coming on, exhibits to us nothing but a naked, ruined coun- "try, from which we can have no forage. You see the great "extent of the city, and consequently the great number of "catapultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds, "that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in "order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant "manner, with all things necessary for us. We are obliged "in honour to carry on this siege vigorously; and it would "be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to "abandon our enterprise." Every one then, making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper for the good of his republic, and the interest of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed in concert with them on the conditions of peace to be offered to the tyrant. The chief were, that, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis garrisoned by his troops; that he should restore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each; that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the

Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves; that he should restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so; that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one; that he should pay down an * hundred talents of silver, and afterwards fifty talents annually during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which it reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it; and that but in places which lay open, and were easy of access; all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius' army was very numerous, consisting of about fifty thousand men, because he had sent for all the land, as well as naval forces, he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans, drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the

* An hundred thousand crowns.

house-tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the Testudo or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles; the Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many entreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother, who returned to their respective fleets, repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemean games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges: but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, for so they called it, they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece: That here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst that the lawful king, meaning Agesipolis, who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment: In a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty; but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things, should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis, being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

[z] In the beginning of the spring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprises of the Roman generals

z A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 194.

his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprise, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But as there was reason to fear that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither: That before ten days should be at an end, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth: That this would show whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief; whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master, instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet, either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words, but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to particular persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the ci-

tizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony; that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chuses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all who were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius, causing silence to be made, desired that they would inquire strictly after such Roman citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost only the Achæans one hundred talents, that is, one hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten shillings an head; consequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgement, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their sa-

* Five hundred denarii.

viour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome, entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people, amidst the other pomp, the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECTION V.

ANTIOCHUS AND THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR WAR. THE LATTER SEND TROOPS AGAINST NABIS. HE IS KILLED.

ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war [a]. Ambassadors were arrived at Rome in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia Minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affairs of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who were returned from Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprised, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that

a A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 57.---62.

tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoken and transacted in the conference; and entreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus' ambassadors conjured the senate not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decison, but deputed to the king, Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lysimachia.

Scarce were they gone, when ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I have observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time, and he always persisted in it, was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: That by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. He declared, that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approved this project at first: Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty.

The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

[b] No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas' brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of these princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with gallies, soldiers, and sailors; that, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus; that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself; that the Romans had no army in Greece; that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him; and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by their arms; that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger; that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he, Philip, unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip, the

b A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192. Diod. xxxv. n. 12.

Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians; that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and sea-ports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and dispatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had solicited so much. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

[c] Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it advisable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine, towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that af-

c Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. i. xxxv. n. 13.—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88.—92. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

fair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus' daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that should the Romans get the better, as it was highly probable they would, he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that, on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in the war, the only benefit that he, Eumenes, could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave; for they might be assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they should have much better terms from the Romans; and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event shewed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the East.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks: that, after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit, either voluntarily or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to

persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed in that conduct, which was, by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected by the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made himself the celebrated answer I have related * elsewhere, when, speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus, his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his show of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of

* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how and in what manner they should carry it on, assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans: that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that, on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also: that they had no time to lose; and that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected by the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans, "It is this oath," says he, "it is this "hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during "thirty-six years; it was the same animosity that occasioned "my being banished from my country in a time of peace, "and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If "you defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which "can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part "of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up "enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated "by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against "them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends: "but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, "take council of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was in-

evitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

[d] Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command of the Achæan fleet *, and imagined that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land; but he learned to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgement, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent; and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed

d A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25.—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

* The great Prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the Prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea-officer, who was present, replied, "Sir, "were your Highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of "obeying your orders." "My orders!" interrupted the prince; "I should not "presume even to give my advice; but should stand quietly on the deck, and "observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction."

his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and, whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it abounded, the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades in all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him, and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted, and asked himself, in case he were alone, or else inquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post would it be proper for him to take? In what places to dispose his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What rout he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march? He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much, in all those parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately, as

if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain; but the only method to be such, is to love one's profession, to think it an honour to improve it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

[e] During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition: that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it: that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs, made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as an hostage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dextrous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which

e Liv. l. xxxv. n. 31.---34.

gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors, with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought only to be answerable for it: That the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most valuable and dear among men; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech; and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus' court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all, which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace, the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the wrong still more upon the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus' ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by acquainting it that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preserved their rights, and all had not been subjected to the Roman power. "But still,' says he, "if you execute the designs you have formed, Antio-

" chus may, by the assistance of the gods, and your aid, re-
" store the affairs of Greece to their ancient splendour, how
" desperate soever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves, without saying a word of the king, with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution, in an affair of so much importance as that in question: that bold resolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: that the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their will, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: he made a transient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it: and, after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of the quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints, than out of mere wantonness, to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of

his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus, then in office, was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry his decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber: so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

[f] The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by Eurylochus' faction, who was an exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile; for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus Thoas, failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thousand foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they may be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes having given the word to his troopers, he attacked Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his

[f] Liv. l. xxxv. n. 34—39.

horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis' palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians; but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans, taking up arms, made a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

g Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis' death, than he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged the city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such; not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he

g Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

* An hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him; so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured, but with great pain to himself, to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta, where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; in order that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more advisable," added he, "to stop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those grovelling wretches, whose whole study is to heap up riches.

[h] Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the East, brought only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

h Liv. l. xxxv. n. 43.—45.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men, and horses, and all the sea-coast covered with galleys: that he would spare neither expence, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the first rank in it: that with his numerous armies, there would arise from Asia munitions of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech, he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECTION VI.

ANTIOCHUS POSSESSES HIMSELF OF CHALCIS AND ALL EUBŒA. THE ROMANS PROCLAIM WAR AGAINST HIM.

The first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was [i], with what enterprise to begin first. It was thought advisable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with such citizens of

i A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46.—51. Appian. in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

Chalcis as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done: that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because that the one would always defend them against the other, and that by this means they would hold both in respect: that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance, whereas the king was present, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them: that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: that they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would shew themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island: that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus' ambassador spoke first. * He was a vain man,

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria terrasque inani sonitu verborum compleverat.—Liv.

as those generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes; and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vast body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry: the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphylia; nations, who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold: that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that, in consequence, the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe: that, nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the East purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies: that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then, growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle,

worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem; but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and, by their means, with the king himself; that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough; that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed; that, vaunting of troops they had not, they seduced and blew up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side, as you have just now heard, that they had defeated Philip and preserved the Romans, and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. "This," says he, "puts me in "mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis, by a friend "of mine, a very worthy man, who treats his guests in the "best manner. Surprised at the prodigious quantity and va-"riety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it "was possible for him, in the month of June, to get together "so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vain-"glorious like these people, only fell a-laughing, and owned "sincerely, that what we took for venison, was nothing but "swine's flesh, seasoned several ways, and cooked up with "different sauces. The same thing may be said of the king's "troops, which have been so highly extolled, and whose "number has been vainly multiplied in mighty names. For "these Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and Elymæans, are all but "one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than soldiers. "Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the motions "and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hur-"ries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provi-"sions and money; and the next, goes in person to the very

" gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ig-
" nominy. Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to
" the Ætolians; and they, with as little judgement, have be-
" lieved Antiochus. This ought to teach you, not to suffer
" yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the faith
" of the Romans which you have so often experienced. I
" am surprised they can venture to tell you, that it will be
" safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain only specta-
" tors of the war. That would, indeed, be a sure method;
" I mean, to become the prey of the victor."

The Achæans were neither long nor divided in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the request of Quintius, they sent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered, that they would consider on what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest where there are no enemies to make opposition?

[k] But terrible ones were making preparation against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not al-

k A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xvi. n. 1.—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93.—96.

lowed to be absent from it at the same same. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundusium, on the fifteenth of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the necessity there was to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus' interest; which, he said, was so important a step, that if he succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, "as "Philip sustained so long the whole weight of the Roman "power, what may not be expected from a war, in which "the two greatest kings of Europe and Asia will unite their "forces; especially, as the Romans will have those against "them in it, who gave them the superiority before; I mean "the Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as is well "known, they were indebted for victory? Now, who can "doubt but Philip may easily be brought over from the Ro-"man interest, if what Thoas so often repeated to the king, "in order to induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that "this prince, highly incensed to see himself reduced to a "shameful servitude under the name of peace, waited only "an opportuntity to declare himself? And could he ever hope "for one more favourable than that which now offers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there. That since

another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who might possibly fail him on a sudden. That the instant those forces should arrive, it was proper to march towards those coasts of Greece, opposite to Italy, and order his fleet to set sail thither also. That he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy, and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy; and actually to do so, in case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coasts; and, at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place, in his opinion, where the Romans could be conquered. "These," concluded Hannibal, "are my thoughts; and if I "am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I "ought at least to have learned, by my good and ill successes, "how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and "fidelity may be depended upon. As to the rest, I beseech "the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatsoever they "may be."

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; he immediately sending orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They observed further, that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason, it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes several cities of Thessaly; he is however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebius the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly

in love with the man's daughter at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprises he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned an universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not awake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence. Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field, the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded ten thousand men.

[1] Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and voluptuousness, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had dispatched Cato, his lieutenant, with a large detachment, in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went

1 Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16.—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96.—98.

over the mountains, through the same path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment, sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of six hundred Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, took to their heels, and retired towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant the consul attacks Antiochus' intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place where there was almost no outlets to escape through; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think, that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus' forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general, to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often admired, to see the heathens so very careful in beginning and ending all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring, in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards, returning them public and solemn thanks for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which, of the same antiquity with the world, has been preserved by all nations; that there is a Supreme Being, and a Providence which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us; and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of superiors, as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers, who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The* consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.

[m] Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such

m Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22.—26.

* Multo modestia post victoriam, quam ipsa victoria, laudabilior.—Liv.

parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the least intermission either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians not doubting but this proceeded from the over fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, they took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in three places only; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who rose from their slumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had answered Quintius, "That he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he "had just before called in Antiochus."

At the same time Philip was besieging Lamia *, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour; gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

[n] The Ætolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negociation came to nothing.

In the mean time the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion on them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Phineas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture, "Your calamity," says he, "banishes

n Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27.—35.

"from my mind all thoughts of resentment and revenge. "You now find that all things have happened as I foretold "you they would; and you have not the consolation of being "able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to "yourselves. But destined, as I am, by Providence to pre- "serve Greece, your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclina- "tion to do good. Depute therefore some persons to the "consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for "sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your sub- "missions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advo- "cate with the consul." They followed Quintius' advice in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction; and the Romans gave up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had been an hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

SECTION VII.

POLYXENIDES DEFEATED BY LIVIUS. L. SCIPIO CARRIES ON THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND DEFEATS HIM NEAR MAGNESIA.

WHILST [o] the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed at Ephesus; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, they declared, did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was

o A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41.—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99.

in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops, which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachus, Sestus Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean Sea, and to attack it. They met near Mount Corichus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canna, in Ætolia, drew their ships ashore, and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

[p] Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

[q] During these transactions, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: those were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate; or to pay a thousand * talents, and to acknowledge all

p Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100. q Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

* About an hundred and ninety thousand pounds.

those for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

[r] The next year the Romans gave the command of the land armies, which Achilles had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus.

The consul, being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it advisable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal magnificence. In the entertainments * he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air, and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's

r A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.—7. Appian. in Syr. p. 99, 100.

* Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia, apud Africanum erant; virum, sicut cætera egregium, ita a comitate quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum.—Liv.

brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince, and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own; but at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the master of the feast, and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. "Multa in ea dexteritas "et humanitas visa." These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusion could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested him with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were superior to his own; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality, it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on, and submit to others.

[s] In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's army into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus' admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk nine-and-twenty of his ships; and Pausistratus him-

s Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9.—11. et n. 18.—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101.—103.

self lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence, they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It oined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes, the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with one thousand foot and one hundred horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

[t] The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, singly, fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megista, near Patara; and there blocked him up so close, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont, and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

[u] He sent ambassadors to Prusias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprise: that they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans: that after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him: that should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading, would soon reach Bithynia: that as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

t Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. 8.
u Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25.—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101.—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 22.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said, that in Spain, several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings; that Masinissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe; that Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones; that, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay was remitted, and his son, who was an hostage in Rome, sent back to him; that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king, being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined, that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed, by the loss of the two battles related above; and then he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner he pleased; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus therefore resolved to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the best of his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary for another engagement, and sent it once more, under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the

enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burned twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

[x] Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, on a sudden he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lysimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this would have been, to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lysimachia being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage; and during the interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions, of both which he had laid up very considerable quantities, behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army; and at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the scripture, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten

[x] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Appian. in Syriac. p. 105.

his people. "[y] For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, "doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay "and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay "of water.——The mighty man, and the man of war, the "judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient. "——The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the "counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent "orator." But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "* God took away the king's judgement, and overthrew his "reason; a punishment," says he, "that always happens, "when men are upon the point of falling into some great "calamity." The expression is very strong, "God overthrew "the king's reason." He took from him, that is, he refused him, sense, prudence, and judgement: he banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what † David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel, Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, "turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness." The word in the Latin version is very strong, INFATUA: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men "of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better "than the counsel of Ahitophel; for the Lord had appointed "to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that "the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom."

[z] The Romans, being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers with children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the West and of Africa,

y Isaiah iii. 1. 2. 3.

z Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

* Οὗ βλάπτοντος ἤδη τὸς λογισμὸς ὅπερ ἅπασι προσιοντων ἀτυχιμάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται.—ὃ μὴν ὅτε τὸν διάπλων ἐφύλαν ἐφύλαξεν ὑπο Θεοβλαβειας.

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel—Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, *ut inducceret Dominus super Absalom malum.* 2 Reg. c. xv. 31. et xvii. 14. "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahito-"phel into foolishness," 2 Sam. c. xiv. 31. "For the Lord had appointed to de-"feat the good counsel of Ahitophel, *to the intent that the Lord might bring evil* "*upon Absalom.*" Chap. xvii. v. 14.

and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

[a] When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army, it having halted for several days that were the festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields, called Ancilia, were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the Salii, or priests of Mars, whose office it was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for, being one of the Salii, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing; so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make to him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Orcum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened the speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his

a Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 33.—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 23. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 7. 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105.—110.

still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him: that he would consent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war. He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity: that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire: that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it: they were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side Mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power, if he would mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer: "I am not surprised to find you "unacquainted both with me and the Romans, as you do "not even know the condition of the prince who sent you "hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of "arms should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier "terms, your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lysi- "machia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus; "or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont, to have "disputed our passage into Asia with us. But, by abandon- "ing them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck; so that "all he now has to do, is, to submit to whatever conditions "we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers

" he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with that " which relates to the giving me back my son: I hope the rest " will not have the power to tempt me. As a private man, I " can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of grati- " tude, for so precious a gift as he offers me in my son; but " as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. Go, " therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best counsel " I can give him, is to lay down his arms; and not reject " any articles of peace which may be proposed to him. This " is the best advice I could give him as a good and faithful " friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where, hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, " Go," says he to the envoys, " and thank the king from me; and tell him, that at " present, the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude, " is, to advise him not to fight, till he hears of my being ar- " rived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus' forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius, it is thought to be the Hermus, and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants; that of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The consul, finding

that the king lay still, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the pallisades, and pass the intrenchments; to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers, and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of five thousand four hundred men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the centre was composed of * pikemen, or Hastati; the second of Principes, and the third of Triarii: these, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thousand horse, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers.

* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

The sixteen elephants were posted behind the Triarii, by way of corps-de-reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants, all those in the Roman camp being of that country, were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up, in a column, part of the cavalry, one thousand five hundred Asiatic Gauls, three thousand cuirassiers armed cap-a-pee, and one thousand horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called from their arms being of silver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen; to whom two thousand five hundred Mysians were joined. Then three thousand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that, before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with scythes were posted; with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords, in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts, were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish

one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp, occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bow-strings, the slings, and thongs or straps *, which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins; and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse who discharge javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army; for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack; so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageously; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by ham-stringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore

* Amenta.

put into disorder, and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because that the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of two thousand brave well-disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

[b] It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no use; and he filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops, without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

b Appian.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants, and their guides. The Romans lost but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes' troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed Mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in the battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

c The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have "always," said he to them, "pardoned with greatness of "mind, the kings and nations you have conquered. How "much more should you be induced to do this, after a victory "which gives you the empire of the universe! Henceforward, being become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of the human race "your sole study for the future."

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side, they were never too elate from prosperity; that therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle; that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side Mount Taurus; that he shall

c Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45.—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 24. Appian. in Syriac. p. 110.—113.

pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thousand Eubœan talents, and the payments were settled as follow; five hundred talents down; two thousand five hundred when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, a thousand talents every year: that he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, "The Romans cannot "persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal re-"fuge, is sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore de-"mand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as also Thoas "the Ætolian, who was the chief agent in fomenting this "war." All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negociation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment; and to secure the other articles of the treaty, Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negociating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, and they declared impudently that it was so, they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the

* Fifteen thousand Attic talents amount to about two millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling. These of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were something less.

consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

[c] The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors, and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will show, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprises and wars; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander his son, gave the first blow to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that grace for the Greeks of Asia; and it was immediately the interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate are now to debate, and of which the decision held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, he opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom, by Antiochus; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulat-

c A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47.—50. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 52.—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

ed the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Asia situated on this side of Mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself, and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them; assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free, as to ask that venerable body what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most advisable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. "I should have still "continued silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambas- "sadors, whom you will soon admit to audience, will make "such demands as are directly contrary to my interest. "They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the Gre- "cian cities of Asia, and pretend that they ought all to be "declared free. Now, can it be doubted that their intention "in this is, to deprive me, not only of those cities which will "be delivered, but even of such as were anciently my tribu- "taries; and that their view is, by so signal a service, to sub- "ject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title "of confederate cities? They will not fail to expatiate strongly "on their own disinterestedness; and to say, that they do "not speak for themselves, but merely for your glory and re- "putation. You therefore will certainly not suffer yourselves "to be imposed upon by such discourse; and are far from "designing, either to discover an affected inequality towards "your allies, by humbling some, and raising others in an im-

"moderate degree; or to allow better conditions to those who "carried arms against you, than to such as have always been "your friends and allies. With regard to my particular pre- "tensions, and my personal interest, these I can easily give "up; but as to your kindness, and the marks of friendship "with which you have been pleased to honour me, I must "confess that I cannot, without pain, see others triumph over "me in that particular. This is the most precious part of "the inheritance I received from my father, who was the first "potentate in all Greece and Asia, that had the advantage "of concluding an alliance, and of joining in friendship with "you; and who cultivated it with an inviolable constancy and "fidelity to his latest breath. He was far from confining "himself in those points to mere protestations of kindness "and good will. In all the wars you made in Greece, "whether by sea or land, he constantly followed your stand- "ards, and aided you with all his forces, with such a zeal "as none of your allies can boast. It may even be said, that "his attachment to your interest, in the last and strongest "proof he gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death: "for the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the Bœo- "tians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned the fatal "accident that brought him to his end in a few days. I al- "ways thought it my duty to tread in his steps, firmly per- "suaded that nothing could be more honourable. It indeed "was not possible for me to exceed him in zeal and attach- "ment to your service; but then the posture of affairs, and "the war against Antiochus, have furnished me more oppor- "tunities than my father had, of giving you proofs of this. "That prince, who was very powerful in Europe, as well as "Asia, offered me his daughter in marriage; he engaged him- "self to recover all those cities which had revolted from me: "he promised to add considerable countries to my dominions, "upon condition that I should join with him against you. "I will not assume any honour to myself for not accepting "offers which tended to alienate me from your friendship; "and indeed, how would it have been possible for me to do "this? I will only take notice of what I thought myself bound "to do in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend "and ally. I assisted your generals both by sea and land, "with a far greater number of troops, as well as a much lar- "ger quantity of provisions, than any of your allies: I was "present in all your naval engagements, and these were many; "and have spared myself no toils nor dangers. I suffered

" the hardships of a siege, the most grievous condition of war,
" and was blocked up in Pergamus, exposed every moment to
" the loss of my crown and life. Having disengaged myself
" from this siege, whilst Antiochus on one side, and Seleucus
" his son on the other, were still encamped in my dominions;
" neglecting entirely my own interest, I sailed with my whole
" fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio your consul, purpose-
" ly to assist him in passing it. I never quitted the consul
" from his arrival in Asia; not a soldier in your camp has
" exerted himself more than my brother and myself. I have
" been present in every action, whether of foot or horse. In
" the last engagement, I defended the post which the consul
" assigned me. I will not ask whether, in this particular, any
" of your allies deserved to be compared with me. One thing
" I will be so confident as to assert, that I may put myself in
" parallel with any of those kings or states, on whom you
" have bestowed the highest marks of your favour. Masi-
" nissa had been your enemy before he became your ally; he
" did not come over to you with powerful aids, and at a
" time when he enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom;
" but an exile, driven from his kingdom, plundered of all
" his possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled to your
" camp with a squadron of horse, in order to seek an asylum,
" as well as aid, in his misfortunes. Nevertheless, because he
" has since served you faithfully against Syphax and the Car-
" thaginians, you have not only restored him to the throne of
" his ancestors, but, by bestowing on him great part of
" Syphax's kingdom, you have made him one of the most
" powerful monarchs of Africa. What therefore may we not
" expect from your liberality; we, who have ever been your
" allies, and never your enemies? My father, my brothers,
" and myself, have on all occasions drawn our swords in your
" cause both by sea and land; not only in Asia, but at a great
" distance from our native country, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia,
" and Ætolia, during the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and
" the Ætolians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your
" pretensions? Since you force me to explain myself, they
" are as follows: If, in repulsing Antiochus beyond Mount
" Taurus, your intention was to seize upon that country, in
" order to unite it to your empire, I could not wish for bet-
" ter neighbours, none being more able to secure my domi-
" nions. But if you are resolved to resign it, and to recall
" your armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that none of
" your allies deserve advantages from you better than myself.
" Yet some may observe, it is great and glorious to deliver

" cities from slavery, and to restore them their liberty. I grant " it, provided they had never exercised hostilities against you. " But then, if they have been so far attached to Antiochus' " interest, will it not be much more worthy of your wisdom " and justice, to bestow your favour on allies who have serv- " ed you faithfully, than on enemies who have used their en- " deavours to destroy you?"

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king's harangue; and shewed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus: " Nothing," says he, directing himself to the senators, " grieves us so much at this time, as to find our- " selves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that " prince for whom, of all princes, both our republic and our- " selves have the most faithful and most cordial respect. The " circumstance which divides and separates us on this occa- " sion, does not proceed from a disparity of minds, but from a " difference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a " king. It is natural that we, being a free people, should " plead for the liberty of others; and that kings should en- " deavour to make all things pay homage to their sovereign " sway. However this be, the circumstance which perplexes " us on this occasion, is not so much the affair in itself, which " seems to be of such a nature, that you cannot be very much " divided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought to shew " to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there was no other " way of acknowledging the important services of a king, " your confederate and ally, but in subjecting free cities to " his power, you then might be doubtful; from the fear you " might be under, either of not discovering gratitude enough " towards a prince who is your friend, or of renouncing your " principles, and the glory you have acquired in the war a- " gainst Philip, by restoring all the Grecian cities to their li- " berty. But fortune has put you in such a condition, as " not to fear either of those inconveniences. The immortal " gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by " which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to " acquit yourselves easily of what you call a debt. Lycaonia, " the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, Chersonesus, and the country " contiguous to it, are subjected by you. One of these pro-

" vinces is alone capable of enlarging considerably the dom i
" nions of Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him
" to the most powerful kings. You therefore may, at one
" and the same time, recompence very largely your allies, and
" not depart from the maxims which form the glory of your
" empire. The same motive prompted you to march against
" Philip and Antiochus. As the cause is the same, the like
" issue is expected; not only because you yourselves have al-
" ready set the example, but because your honour requires it.
" Others engage in war, merely to dispossess their neighbours
" of some country, some city, fortress, or sea-port; but you,
" O Romans! never drew the sword from such motives; when
" you fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance inspires
" all nations with a reverence and awe for your name and em-
" pire, almost equal to that which is paid to the gods. The
" business is to preserve that glory. You have undertaken
" to rescue from the bondage of kings, and to restore to its
" ancient liberty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still
" more renowned for its glorious actions, and its exquisite
" taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is the whole na-
" tion you have taken under your protection, and you have
" promised it to them to the end of time. The cities situated
" in Greece itself, are not more Grecian than the colonies
" they settled in Asia. A change of country has not wrought
" any alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek
" cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ancestors and
" founders in virtue and in knowledge. Many persons in
" this assembly have seen the cities of Greece and Asia: the
" only difference is, that we are situated at a farther distance
" from Rome. If a difference in climate should change the
" nature and dispositions of men, the inhabitants of Marseilles,
" surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations,
" should necessarily have long since degenerated; and yet we
" are informed that you have as great a regard for them, as if
" they lived in the centre of Greece. And indeed, they have
" retained, not only the sound of the language, the dress, and
" the whole exterior of the Greeks; but have also preserved
" still more their manners, laws, and genius, and all these pure
" and uncorrupted, by their correspondence with the neigh-
" bouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of
" your empire. Every country on this side of it, ought not
" to appear remote from you. Wherever you have carried
" your arms, convey thither also the genius and form of your
" government. Let the barbarians, who are accustomed to

" slavery, continue under the empire of kings, since it is grate-
" ful to them. The Greeks, in the mediocrity of their pre-
" sent condition, think it glorious to imitate your exalted sen-
" timents. Born and nurtured in liberty, they know you will
" not deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you
" yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength was suf-
" ficient to secure the empire to them; but now, they implore
" the gods that it may be enjoyed for ever by those people,
" with whom they have placed it. All they desire is, that
" you would be pleased to protect, by the power of your arms,
" their liberties, as they are now no longer able to defend
" them by their own. But, says somebody, some of those
" cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others fa-
" voured Philip also; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus? To cite
" but one people, Carthage, your enemy as well as rival, en-
" joys its liberties and laws. Consider, O Romans! the en-
" gagements which this example lays you under. Will you
" indulge to Eumenes' ambition, I beg his pardon for the ex-
" pression, what you refused to your own just indignation?
" As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars which
" you have carried on in our countries, we have endeavoured
" to behave as good and faithful allies; and you are to judge
" whether we have really been such. Now we enjoy peace,
" we are so free as to give you a counsel which must neces-
" sarily be glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon-
" strate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain vic-
" tories, you yet know how to make a nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude, with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds; on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war was, to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other

kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus' ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes; and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to inquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus' ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soles, as situated beyond Mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Rhegillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus' fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of

long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny[e] dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it. Asia *, vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour consisted. Luxury †, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE ROMANS RESPECTING THE GRECIAN STATES, AND THE KINGS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe; I mean, a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions,

e Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. SENEC. de ALEX.

† Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles———
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidines, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit———
Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.
JUVEN. l. ii. SATYR. 6.

show such a moderation and disinterestedness, as, to consider them only from their outside, exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war, after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures, caused a herald to proclaim in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such exalted sentiments; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded on a profound policy; wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty, and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war; which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire, of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the

kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy; Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance, therefore, the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and further, to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, as a reward for their fidelity; I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous, and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompence for all these services done their allies. By these means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty, and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freed-men. They used to

depute commissioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels; but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators, being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance: Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the same foot on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable, and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the less formidable; they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable, and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves; they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection.

It was this that raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates who divided Europe and Asia. And how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it; how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs of their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or to conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of the mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur; but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a foreknowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, to what this so-much-boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations, having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy, looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world; they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECTION VIII.

ÆTOLIANS AND ASIATIC GAULS SUBDUED BY FULVIUS AND MANLIUS. DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS, AND DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia[f], some commotions had happened in Greece. Amynander, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success; but, when they heard of Antiochus' defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate

f A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1.—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26.—28.

the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had also repaired. The latter, having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows: they should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans; should pay them a thousand talents of silver, about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, half to be paid down directly; should restore to both the Romans, and their allies, all the deserters and prisoners; should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans; in fine, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them; and therefore they ratified the treaty, conformably to the conditions which the consul had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight; which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

[g] Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who

g Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 23.—30.

was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just, yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly, without declaring his opinion.

h But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked in the night one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles, and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans having put the towns and castles of the sea coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians access to it, and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants, the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violators of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land, the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both

h Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 30.—34.

parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer, which has not come down to us, whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations; the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel

a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished: that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia: that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty, and there were a great number of them, should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried whereso-ever they thought proper: that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled: In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonains were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls, with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them; and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. [i] Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also, that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. ‡ The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the

i In Achaiac. p. 412.

* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum; altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur.—Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a majoribus, ut cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerat, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent. —Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

‡ Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata.—Liv.

laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged, and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the laws of nations, to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it, cannot be excused in any manner.

[k] It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At last [l] Lepidus the consul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

[m] In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called from their name Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service

k Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii. l A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.
m Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12.—27. Polyb. in Excerp. Legat. 29.—35.

to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways surprised," says he, "that the Gauls should have made their names formi-
"dable to, and spread the strongest terror in the minds of na-
"tions of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics.
"Their tall stature, their fair flowing hair, which descends to
"their waists, their unwieldy bucklers, their long swords;
"add to this, their songs, their cries and howlings, at the
"first onset, the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields;
"all this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to
"them, but not you, O Romans! whose victorious arms have
"so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience
"has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first
"fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their cou-
"rage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite
"incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust,
"and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink
"down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these the
"ancient Gauls, inured to fatigue and dangers. The luxu-
"rious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft tem-
"perature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and deli-
"cacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely
"enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians
"in Gallic armour; and the only circumstance I fear is, that
"you will not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble
"of enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion, with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour; that their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or withstanding the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence; that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. [n] "Gallos primo impetu feroces esse,
"quos sustinere satis sit——Gallorum quidem etiam corpo-

n Liv. l. x. n. 28.

" ra intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere; primaque eo-
" rum prælia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam fe-
" minarum esse."

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution, and bravery, than the French did at the siege of Philipsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers, courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them; but even the common soldiers showed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun, by the violence of the rains and inundations of the Rhine, they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have roused at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable, in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

THE KING'S LETTER TO THE MARSHAL D'ASFELDT.

"COUSIN,

"I am entirely sensible of the important service you have "done me in taking Philipsburg. Nothing less than your "courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles "to that enterprise, occasioned by the inundations of the "Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example "inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. "I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transac- "tions of that siege; and always observed, that the ardour "and patience of my troops increased in proportion to the "difficulties that arose, either from the swelling of the floods, "the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every "kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation: "and I enjoin you to inform the general officers and others, "and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with "them. You need not doubt my having the same senti- "ments with regard to you; to assure you of which is the "sole motive of this letter: and, Cousin, I beseech the Al- "mighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

"VERSAILLES, *July* 23. 1734."

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those Barbarians,

who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to Mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. [o] We are told that * Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

[p] Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents, (six hundred thousand crowns), for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties.

[q] Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme

o Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. xxxvi. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

p A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

q A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. c. xi.

* Antiochus magnus—dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur.—Cic.

want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him, with all his followers. [r] Aurelius Victor says, that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them, not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the Great. But from that time his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for, the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

[s] "But his sons," of the king of the North, "shall be "stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: "and one," Antiochus the Great, "shall certainly come and "overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be "stirred up even to his fortress." [t] This king of the North was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Cœlosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's gene-

r De Viris Illust. c. liv. s Ver. 10. t See ver. 8.

rals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. "He," meaning Antiochus, "shall come. He "shall overflow" the enemy's country. "He shall pass over" Mount Libanus. "He shall halt," whilst overtures of peace are making him. "He shall advance with ardour as far as "the fortresses," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

[u] "And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, "and shall come forth, and shall fight with him, even with "the king of the North; and he shall set forth a great mul- "titude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand." Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: "Provocatus." At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and, by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

[x] "And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart "shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thou- "sands; but he shall not be strengthened by it." Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary, "his heart "shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses: "but he shall not be strengthened by it."

[y] "For the king of the North shall return, and shall set "forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall cer- "tainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and "with much riches." Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years

u Ver. 11. x Ver. 12. y Ver. 13.

of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

[z] "And in those times there shall many stand up against "the king of the South." This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt; by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and his life. * "Also the rob- "bers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the "vision; but they shall fall." Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities which Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostacy.

[a] "So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a "mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of "the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, "neither shall there be any strength to withstand——[b] But "he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own "will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in "the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed." Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. "He did according to his own will," in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, "the glorious," or, according to the He-

z Ver. 14. a Ver. 15. b Ver. 16.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

brew, "that desirable land." He there established his authority, and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem, the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all the troops in order to force it, and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and consumed by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

"[c] He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of "his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus "shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women, "corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither "be for him." Antiochus, seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and excite her to betray her husband; but he was not successful in his design; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * join with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

"[d] After this he shall turn his face into the isles, and shall "take many; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the "reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him." Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land-army, to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, the prince of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio, the Roman consul, caused the reproach to turn upon him, by defeating him at Mount Sipilus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

"[e] Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own "land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found." Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the East, in order to levy

c Ver. 17. d Ver. 18. e Ver. 19.

* Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manlius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulisset venerunt.—Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 3.

money to pay the Romans: but having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and variously interpreted by commentators; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but what proceeds from God himself, penetrate in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops made in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of Antiochus' picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without a design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECTION IX.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR SUCCEEDS ANTIOCHUS. COMPLAINTS AGAINST PHILIP.

ANTIOCHUS the Great dying [a], Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant sum *, a thousand talents annually, he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

[b] Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometer. [c] The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a

a A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
b Polyb. in Leg. c. 37. c Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.
* About an hundred and ninety thousand pounds.

place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him, "Do but behold, Sir, the quantity "of bones before Hyrcanus, and your Majesty may judge in "what manner his father gnaws your provinces." These words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus, how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your Ma-"jesty need not wonder at that," replied he; "for dogs eat "both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at "your table have done," pointing to them; "but men are "contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones, like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only five talents to present *, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed twenty talents †. But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering, and to the queen as many girls, in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

[k] Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed in all things the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers, that deadly poison to kings, prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took, of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him with poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

k A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

* About seven hundred and fifty pounds.

† About three thousand pounds.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

[l] To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

Ptolemy [m], by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. [n] King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered an hundred and twenty talents, about twenty-one thousand pounds Sterling, the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sove-

l Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.
m A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Polyb. in Legat. c. 14. p. 850—852.
n A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186.

reign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and at the same time desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador, whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes' name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the "law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of "the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any "pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, "should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eume-"nes' offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-"evident; for says Apollonius, what could reflect greater ig-"nominy on a council, than to receive, annually, from a "king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order "to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pen-"sioners, and in a manner rising from his table, after having

"* swallowed the bait that concealed the hook? But what "dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a "custom, should it be established? That afterwards Prusias, "excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal "of his benefactions, and after him, Seleucus: that, as the "interest of kings differed widely from those of repub- "lics, and as, in the latter, their most important deliberations "related to their differences with crowned heads, two things "would inevitably happen; either the Achæans would tran- "sact all things to the advantage of those princes, and to the "prejudice of their own country; or else they must behave "with the blackest ingratitude towards their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered; and added, "That it "was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting "to bribe their fidelity by such an offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions, and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

[h] Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters to Rome, against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

[i] Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because by the

h A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. i Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23.—29.

* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependents. Καταπεπωκότας ἐνίους δέλεαρ.

articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander, the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhœbians, and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon; a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that like † slaves,

* Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse.—Liv.

† Insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina siti nimis avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis et linguæ experiri, et jactare sese in sectatione et conviciis dominorum.—Liv.

who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, broke into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes' ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the conditions of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus, in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand * talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him: That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too

* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling.

great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, O Romans!" says he, concluding his speech, "are to consider upon what foot you intend "to have me be with you. If you are determined to treat me "as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that case, "you need only use me as you have hitherto done: but, if "you still revere in my person the title and quality of king, "ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the shame of being "treated any longer with so much indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspence, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes by decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner: that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

[k] The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed

k Polyb. in Legat. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted with prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador, and before him Marcus Fulvius, would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

[1] Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn, as he had promised Cecilius, from the cities of Perrhœbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from

J A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Legat. c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 39.

all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea-coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent to give their reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius, and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans; who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise cleared themselves for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; it walls were demolished; its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity; the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to inquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

[m] When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace, in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a

m Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34. 35.

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some (says he) declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a "great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpose," says Appius to him, "for you to apologize for yourself; I know what "things have been done, as well as the authors of them." These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre; but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, he declared, so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was: Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the

king of Macedon, reflecting in his own mind and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself, would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived it expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrias to Rome, who having been many years an hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified, either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

[n] The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

n Liv. l. xxxix. n. 35.—37.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the inquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion; the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorised in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those who they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we can-"not but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Ly-"curgus' laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. "This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this double "objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in "question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who "erected them some few years ago, not for the security of "the city, but for their own safety, and to enable themselves "to abolish, with impunity, the discipline and regulations so "happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible "for him to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed "to see those walls destroyed, and say, that he now knows and

" owns his native country, and ancient Sparta. You should " not, O citizens of Sparta! have waited for Philopœmen or " the Achæans, but ought yourselves to have pulled down " those walls with your own hands, and destroyed even the " slightest trace of tyranny. These were a kind of ignomi- " nious scars of your slavery; and after having maintained " your liberties and privileges during almost eight hundred " years, and been for some time the sovereigns of Greece, " without the support and assistance of walls; they, within " these hundred years, have become the instruments of your " slavery, and in a manner your shackles and fetters. With " respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were sup- " pressed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our " own, by putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, " I cannot for- " bear owning," says he, " that the words I have hitherto " spoken, were not as from one ally to another, nor of a free " nation, but as slaves who speak to their master. For, in " fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be " free in the front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and " empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be " real and solid; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving an " alliance and friendship with us; on what can that infinite " disparity, which you suppose to be between you Romans " and us Achæans, be grounded? I do not inquire into the " treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken that " city; why then do you examine into our usage of the Lacedæ- " monians, after we had conquered them? Some of them were " killed, and I will suppose that it was by us. But did not " you strike off the heads of several Campanian senators? We " levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground; but as for " you, Romans, you not only dispossessed the Campanians of " their walls, but of their city and lands. To this I know you " will reply, that the equality expressed in the treaties be- " tween the Romans and Achæans is merely specious, and a " bare form of words; that we really have but a precarious " and derivative liberty, but that the Romans are possessed " of authority and empire. This, Appius, I am but too " sensible of. However, since we must be forced to submit " to this, I entreat you at least, how wide a difference soever " you may set between yourselves and us, not to put your " enemies and our own upon a level with us, who are your " allies; especially, not to shew them better treatment. They " require us, by forswearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul " all we have enacted by oath; and to revoke that, which by

" being writtten on our records, and engraved on marble, in " order to preserve the remembrance of it eternally, is become " a sacred monument which it is not lawful for us to violate. " We revere you, O Romans! and if you will have it so, we " also fear you; but then, we think it glorious to have a " greater reverence and fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta; but not to oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

[o] The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. [p] Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. [q] They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their al-

[o] Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. [p] In Achaiac. p. 414. [q] Polyb. in Legat. c. 51.

liance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECTION X.

PHILOPŒMEN BESIEGES MESSENE. HE IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND PUT TO DEATH. PTOLEMY EPIPHANES DIES.

Dinocrates the Messenian [r], who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a counter-march, and advanced towards Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight; but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: "Ought that man," says he, "to be va-"lued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, "whilst he has arms to defend himself?"

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, viz. that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on

r A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366. —368. Polyb. in Legat. c. 52, 53.

his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard, till they saw him themselves; so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved with compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity, and a very laudable gratitude; "that the Messenians ought "to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and "his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis "the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called the Treasury. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a sword in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, for he was very weak, sat down, and then taking the cup, he inquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans, his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, "You bring me," says he, "good news; and I find we are "not entirely unfortunate:" after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all the young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment the revenge of so horrid a deed; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messene, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it advisable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners, bound in chains; afterwards the general's son, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elated from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neigh-

* This was Polybius the historian, who then might be about two and twenty.

bouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several * years after, at the time that Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser, a Roman, as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive, charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was held in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is a great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans; for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe, I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also

* Thirty-seven years.

renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, which breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest, on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it: that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus: that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

[s] I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus' court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, Eumenes' fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes' galley only, informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest; and to annoy the

s Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. 10.—12. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the gallies. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service; but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the gallies, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; "What* !" says Hannibal, "do you "rely more upon the liver of a beast, than upon the counsel of "Hannibal?" To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

[t] I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burdened with it: that they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the administration of the public affairs, were very desirous of that union, which, he observed, could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it, but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

t A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Legat. c. 53.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?—Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testatam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit.—Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors which tended to show that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate, and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state; and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

[u] The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans, hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

[x] Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Ro-
"mans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and
"intreaties of unfortunate persons as appear to them just and
"reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part. But when it
"is represented to them, that among the favours which are
"requested at their hands, some are not in their power to be-
"stow, and others would reflect dishonour, and be very pre-
"judicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not use
"to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such
"allies an implicit obedience to their commands. This is
"exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans,

u A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb. in Legat. c. 54.
x A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Polyb. in Legat. c. 58.

"that we cannot obey their orders without infringing the sa-
"cred oaths we have taken, without violating the laws on
"which our league is founded; and then they will undoubt-
"edly wave their resolutions, and confess that it is with the
"greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hy-
perbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lysiades, and Aratus, were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When the ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. "If the Greeks," says he, directing himself to the senators, "do not obey
"you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders
"which you send them, you must blame yourselves only for it.
"In all the states of Greece, there are now two parties; one
"of which asserts, that all your orders ought to be obeyed,
"and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things
"should pay an homage to your will and pleasure; the other
"party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and
"oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are for ever
"exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of
"these two parties, the last suits best with the genius and
"character of the Achæans, and has the greatest influence
"over the people. What is the consequence of this? Those
"who comply with your measures are detested by the com-
"mon people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are honour-
"ed and applauded: Whereas, if the senate would show ever
"so little favour to such as espouse their interest cordially,
"the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would
"declare for the Romans; and the people, intimidated by
"this, would soon follow their example. But, whilst you
"show an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will cer-
"tainly oppose you, as the infallible means of acquiring the
"love and respect of the people. And accordingly we see,
"that many people, whose only merit consists in their making
"the strongest opposition to your orders, and a pretended

" zeal for the defence and preservation of the laws of their " country, have been raised to the most exalted employments " in their country. In case you do not much value whether " the Greeks are, or are not, at your devotion, then, indeed, " your present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But " if you would have them execute your orders, and receive " your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this matter; " otherwise be assured that they will, on all occasions, declare " against your commands. You may judge of the truth of " this from their present behaviour towards you. How long " is it since you commanded them, by your letters, to recall " the Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless, so far from recall- " ing them, they have published a quite contrary decree, and " have bound themselves by oath never to reinstate them. " This ought to be a lesson to you, and show how cautious " you should be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery; prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the Great King of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their domestic affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the num-

ber of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgement cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude; the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them, and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty, and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates' treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours, they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he might best work upon their passions by

flattery. He had been sent to Rome to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his superiors, and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgement. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

[y] Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

y A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Legat. c. 51—59.

[z] Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. The [a] Achæans deputed, in this quality, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achaia, because, when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

[b] This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has already been mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent, therefore, that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometer, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAPTER II.

This second chapter includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821 till 3840. In this interval are contained——The first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometer's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty-four years——The five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus, who reigned eleven——The eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews.——I shall reserve the eleven years

z A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. a Polyb. in Legat. c. 57.
b A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

of Perseus' reign over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this chapter.

SECTION I.

PERSEUS CONSPIRES AGAINST DEMETRIUS. THE LATTER IS INNOCENTLY PUT TO DEATH; AND PERSEUS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE.

FROM [c] the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having their injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised, and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father; but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public, to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials, and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially showed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the

c A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses: that, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there, as the hostage of his inclinations, his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss: and that as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. Those marks of distinction which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

[d] The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and a war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy, as he feared that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects; and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not

d Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

be in his power to dispose of the crown as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his lifetime, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or soothe the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured in that city; and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome: all these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

[e] However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their place Thracians, and other barbarous nations, who he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses,

[e] Liv. l. xi. n. 3.—5.

* Æmathia, called formerly Pœonia.

and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these invitations.

[f] But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children; and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death, plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out for Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on

[f] A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182.

board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company, in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," said she, "only can free you from your "miseries; and here is what will procure you that last, sad re- "fuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by "the method you like best. Go, my dear children, such of "you as are more advanced in years, and take these poinards; "or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, "take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived, and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

[g] Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in

g Liv. l. xl. n. 5.—16.

greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly, which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion, that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all those discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius, without considering the consequences, grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the

king's courage. Perseus, taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what use," says he, "can all this be to us? We "have not so much to hope from foreign aids as to dread "from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not "say a traitor, but at least a spy. The Romans, ever since "he was an hostage among them, have restored us his body; "but as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with "them. Almost all the Macedonians fix already their eyes "on him; and are persuaded, that they shall never have any "king, but him whom the Romans shall please to set over "them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow: * A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, long ways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterwards, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age; sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but foils, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne; several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary,

* We find in scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings, some of which were very sharp, against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet; but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go "and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain, "if he has any remaining, by an agreeable surprise, which "will show that we act with frankness and sincerity, and do "not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried out that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy; nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants, not to open the door to wretches, who were come with a design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus' spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is

" the greatest happiness for me," answers Perseus, " and by " the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here " alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me; " he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of " armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other " way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my " doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: " If you will conde- " scend," says he, " to listen a moment to me, you will be fully " acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him; and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows:

" Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge " between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charg- " ed with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the sad " necessity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal or a " false accuser. From certain rumours, which long since " reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observe be- " tween you, a behaviour no ways suiting brothers, I indeed " was afraid this storm would break over my head. And yet " I hoped, from time to time, that your discontents and dis- " gusts would soften, and your suspicions vanish away. I re- " collected, that contending kings and princes, laying down " their arms, had frequently contracted alliances and friend- " ships; and that private men had suppressed their animosities. " I flattered myself, that you would one day remember the " endearing name of brethren by which you are united; those " tender years of infancy which you spent in simplicity and " union; in fine, the counsels so often repeated by a father; " counsels, which, alas! I am afraid have been given to chil- " dren deaf and indocile to my voice. How many times,

"after setting before you examples of the discord between "brothers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by "showing you, that they had thereby involved themselves in "inevitable ruin; and not only themselves, but their chil- "dren, families, and kingdoms? On the other side, I proposed "good examples for your imitation; the strict union be- "tween the two kings of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous du- "ring several centuries to themselves and their country, in "opposition to division and private interest, that changed the "monarchic government into tyranny, and proved the de- "struction of Sparta. By what other method, than by frater- "nal concord, did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, "from such weak beginnings as almost reflected dishonour "on the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, "to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I "even did not scruple to cite examples from the Romans, "of which I myself had either been an eye-witness, or heard "from others; as the two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quinti- "us, who both were engaged in war with me; the two Scipios, "Publius and Lucius, who defeated and subjected Antio- "chus; their father and their uncle, who having been inse- "parable during their lives, were undivided in death. Nei- "ther the crimes of the one, though attended with such "fatal consequences, nor the virtues of the other, though "crowned with such happy success, have been able to make "you abhor division and discord, and to inspire you with "gentle and pacific sentiments. Both of you, in my life- "time, have turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my "throne. You will not suffer me to live, till, surviving one "of you, I secure my crown to the other by my death. The "fond names of father and brother are insupportable to both. "Your souls are strangers to tenderness and love. A restless "desire of reigning has banished all other sentiments from "your breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come, let "me hear what each of you have to say. Pollute the ears "of your parent with real or feigned accusations. Open "your criminal mouths; vent all your reciprocal slanders, "and afterwards arm your parricide hands one against the "other. I am ready to hear all you have to say; firmly de- "termined to shut my ears eternally from henceforth against "the secret whispers and accusations of brother against "brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in mournful silence.

At last Perseus spoke as follows: "I perceive plainly, that

" I ought to have opened my door in the dead of night, to " have admitted the assassins into my house, and presented " my throat to their murderous swords, since guilt is never " believed, till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was " so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious reproaches " as the aggressor. People have but too much reason to say " that you consider Demetrius only as your true son; whilst " unhappy I am looked upon as a stranger, sprung from a " concubine, or even an impostor. For, did your breast glow " with the tenderness which a father ought to have for his " child, you would not think it just to inveigh so bitterly " against me, for whose life so many snares have been laid, but " against him who contrived them; and you would not think " my life so inconsiderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the " imminent danger I escaped; nor to that to which I shall " be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suffered to " go unpunished. If I must die without being suffered to " breathe my complaints, be it so; let me leave the world " in silence, and be contented with beseeching the gods in " my expiring moments, that this crime, which was begun in " my person, may end in it, and not extend to your sacred " life. But if, what nature inspires in those, who seeing " themselves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the assis- " tance even of strangers to them, I may be allowed to do with " regard to you on the present occasion; if, when I see swords " drawn round me, in order to pierce my heart, I may be " permitted to vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice; " I conjure you by the tender, the dear name of Father, for " which, whether my brother or I have had the greatest re- " verence, you yourself have long known, to listen to me at " this time, as if, awaked suddenly from your sleep by the tu- " mult of what passed last night, chance had brought you at " the instant of my danger, and in the midst of my com- " plaints; and that you had found Demetrius at my door, at- " tended by persons in arms. What I should have told you " yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and seized with fear, I " say to you now.

" Brother, it is long since we have not behaved towards " one another, like persons desirous of sharing in parties of " pleasure. You are fired with an insatiable thirst of reign- " ing; but you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law " of nations, the ancient customs of Macedonia, and, a still " stronger circumstance, my father's will and pleasure. It " will be impossible for you ever to force these barriers, and to " ascend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in my

" blood. To compass your horrid ends, you employ instru-
" ments of all kinds, and set every engine at work. Hither-
" to, my vigilance, or my good fortune, have preserved me
" from your bloody hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the
" ceremony of the tournament which followed it, the battle,
" by your contrivance, became almost bloody and fatal; and,
" had I not suffered myself and my followers to be defeated,
" you would have sent me to the grave. From this fight,
" indeed, of enemies, you insidiously wanted, as if what had
" passed had been only the diversion of others, to allure me
" to your feast. Can you suppose, royal father, that I should
" have met with unarmed guests there, as those very guests
" came to my palace, completely armed, at so late an hour?
" Can you imagine that, favoured by the gloom, they would
" not have strove to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the
" same persons, in open day, and before your eyes, almost
" killed me with their wooden weapons? How! You, who
" are my professed enemy; you, who are conscious that I have
" so much reason to complain of your conduct; you, I say,
" come to me in the night, at an unseasonable hour, and at
" the head of a company of armed young men? I did not
" think it safe for me to go to your entertainment; and
" should I receive you in my house at a time, when, heated
" with the fumes of wine, you came so well attended? Had I
" then opened my door, royal Sir, you would be preparing to
" solemnize my funeral, at this very instant in which you
" vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not advance any
" thing dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can
" Demetrius deny, but that he came to my house, attended by
" a band of young people, and that some of them were armed?
" I only desire to have those whom I shall name sent for. I
" believe them capable of any thing; but yet they cannot have
" the assurance to deny the fact. Had I brought them before
" you, after seizing them armed in my house, you would be
" fully convinced of their guilt, and surely their own con-
" fession ought to be a no less proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon impious
" sons who aspire to your throne: this, august Sir, you have
" great reason to do: but then I beseech you, not to vent
" your imprecations blindly, and at random. Distinguish be-
" tween the innocent and the guilty. Let him who medita-
" ted the barbarous design of murdering his brother, feel the
" dire effects of the anger of the gods, the avengers of pater-
" nal authority: but then let him, who, by his brother's guilt,

" was brought to the brink of destruction, find a secure asy-
" lum in his father's tenderness and justice. For where else
" can I expect to find one; I, to whom neither the ceremony
" of the review, the solemnity of the tournament, my own
" house, the festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the
" gods to the repose of man, could afford the least security?
" If I go to the entertainment to which my brother invites me,
" I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal to me, if I
" admit him into my house, when he comes thither at mid-
" night. Snares are laid for me wherever I tread. Death
" lies in ambush for me wherever I move; to what place then
" can I fly for security?

" I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my
" royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and
" cannot have recourse to them. There is nothing they more
" earnestly wish than my ruin, because I am so much affected
" with their injustice to you, because I am tortured to the
" soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of
" so many cities and dominions, and, lately, of the maritime
" coasts of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves with the
" hopes of ever making themselves masters of Macedonia, as
" long as you or I am in being. They are sensible, that,
" should I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the
" grave, or they not wait the due course of nature, that then
" the king and kingdom will be at their disposal.

" Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or
" territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might
" have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, will it
" be answered, shall I find a sufficiently powerful protection
" in the Macedonians? You yourself, royal father, saw with
" what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in
" the battle. What was wanting for my destruction, but
" swords of steel? However, the arms they wanted, my bro-
" ther's guests assumed in the night. What shall I say of a
" great part of the principal persons of your court, who
" ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on him who
" is all-powerful with them? They are not ashamed to prefer
" him not only to me, who am his elder brother, but I might
" almost say it, to you, who are our king and father. For
" they pretend it is to him you are obliged for the senate's
" remitting you some of those things which they otherwise
" would have required; it is he who now checks the Romans,
" and prevents their advancing, in an hostile manner, into
" your kingdom; in fine, if they may be believed, your old

"age has no other refuge, but the protection which your "young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, and "all the cities which have been dismembered from your do- "minions, as well as all such Macedonians, whose depen- "dence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. "But with respect ot myself, I look upon it as glorious to "have no other protector but my royal father, and to place "all my hopes in him alone.

"What do you judge to be the aim and design of the let- "ter you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares "expressly, that you acted prudently for your interest, in "sending Demetrius to Rome; and wherein he exhorts you "to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, "and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is "now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide "but his counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting "that you are his father, he seems to have substituted him in "your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight, he "formed the secret and clandestine designs which will soon "break out into action. It is merely to have the better op- "portunity of putting them in execution, that Quintius orders "you to send along with Demetrius a greater number of the "Macedonian nobility. They set out from this country with "the most sincere attachment to your person and interest; "but, won by the gracious treatment they meet with in that "city, they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched "by different sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with them; "they even presume, in your lifetime, to give him the title "of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct, I have the "grief to see, not only others, but yourself, my royal father, "charge me with the horrid design of aspiring to your throne. "Should this accusation be levelled at us both, I am con- "scious of my own innocence, and it cannot in any manner "affect me. For whom, in that case, should I dispossess, to "seize upon what would be another's right? There is no one "but my father between me and the throne, and I beseech "the gods that he may long continue so. In case I should "happen to survive him, and this I would not wish, but so "long as he should desire it, I shall succeed him in the king- "dom, if it be his good pleasure. He may be accused of "aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust "and criminal manner, who is impatient to break the order "and bounds prescribed by age, by nature, by the usages and "customs of Macedonia, and by the law of nations. My

" elder brother, says Demetrius to himself, to whom the king-
" dom belongs both by the right of seniority and my father's
" will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views.——What then
" must be done?——I must dispatch him.——I shall not be
" the first who has waded through a brother's blood to the
" throne. My father, in years, and without support, will be
" too much afraid for his own life, to meditate revenge for
" his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to
" see me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and
" be able to support me.——I own, most gracious father,
" these projects may be all defeated; but I am sure they are
" not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this;
" it is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign
" punishment, those who yesterday armed to assassinate me:
" but should their guilt take effect, it will not be in your
" power to revenge my death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppressed with sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity, and spoke as follows:

" Perseus, royal Sir, by accusing me in your presence, and
" by shedding fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has
" made you suspect mine, which, alas! are but too sincere;
" and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the
" accused generally have. Ever since my return from Rome,
" he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret
" cabals with his creatures; and yet he represents me to you,
" not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but
" attacking him by open force, and persons in arms. He en-
" deavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which sur-
" round him, in hopes that you will put to death his innocent
" brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum
" left, with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency
" and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to which
" I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he
" strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign
" credit and support, which are rather a prejudice than a
" service to me.

" Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has
" blended and confounded the transactions of last night with
" every other circumstance of my life: and this in a double

" view, first to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in ge-
" neral from this last action, the innocence of which will soon
" be evident; and secondly, to support, by this idle story of
" a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation of my har-
" bouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At the
" same time he has endeavoured to show, that this accusation
" was not premeditated or prepared; but that it was wholly
" the effect of the fear with which he was seized, occasioned
" by last night's tumult. But Perseus, if I had attempted
" to betray my father and his kingdom, had I engaged in
" conspiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies of the
" state, you ought not to have waited for the opportunity of
" the fictitious story of last night's transaction, but should have
" impeached me before this time of such treason. If the
" charge of treason, when separated from the other, was al-
" together improbable, and could serve no other purpose but
" to prove how much you envy me, and not to evidence my
" guilt, you ought not to have mentioned it now, but should
" have postponed that charge to another time; and have exa-
" mined now this question only, whether you laid snares for
" me, or I for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as
" the confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen accu-
" sation has thrown me will permit, to separate and distin-
" guish what you have thrown together indiscriminately; and
" to show whether you or myself ought in justice to be ac-
" cused of dealing treacherously last night.

" Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate
" him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to
" whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the
" customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your
" determination, I, though the younger son, might succeed
" to the throne. To what purpose, therefore, is that other
" part of his speech, where he declares, that I have been
" particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the Romans,
" and flattered myself with the hopes of being able to ascend
" the throne by their assistance? For, if I thought the Ro-
" mans were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of Ma-
" cedon on whomsoever they pleased; and if I relied so much
" on my credit and authority with them, why should I com-
" mit a fratricide of no advantage to myself? What! should I
" have affected to surround my temples with a diadem, dyed
" with my brother's blood, merely that I might become odi-
" ous and execrable, even to those with whom I had acquired
" some authority, admitting I have some credit with them,

" by a probity either real or dissembled? unless you can sup-
" pose that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of follow-
" ing, he, I say, who lives in so delightful an union with his
" brother, suggested to me the horrid design of imbruing my
" hands in my brother's blood. Perseus has summed up all
" the advantages by which, as he would insinuate, I can
" promise myself a superiority over him, such as the credit of
" the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and the al-
" most universal consent of gods and men; and yet he, at the
" same time, as if I was inferior to him in all respects, charges
" me with having recourse to an expedient which none but
" the blackest villains could employ. Will you, gracious Sir,
" have us judged upon this principle and rule, that whichso-
" ever of us two was apprehensive that the other would be
" judged more worthy of the diadem, shall be declared to
" have formed the design of murdering his brother?

" But let us come to facts, and examine the order and plan
" of the criminal enterprise with which I am charged. Per-
" seus pretends to have been attacked in different manners,
" all which are, however, included within the space of one
" day. I attempted, as he says, to murder him in broad day-
" light, in the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of
" the review; I had determined to poison him at an enter-
" tainment to which I had invited him; in fine, I resolved to
" attack him with open force, in the dead of night, attended
" by armed persons to a party of pleasure at his house.

" You see, Sir, the season I had chosen to commit this
" fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of pleasure.
" How venerable and solemn was this day! A day on which
" the army is reviewed, on which the resplendent arms of
" all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in the front of
" the procession; on which it passes through the two parts of
" the sacred victim; and on which we have the honour to
" march with you, at the head of the whole Macedonian
" people! What though purified, by this august sacrifice,
" from all faults I might before have committed; having be-
" fore my eyes the sacred victim through which we passed,
" was my mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers!
" Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most horrid na-
" ture, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have
" been possible for me to purify myself?

" It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a blind pas-
" sion to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to
" make every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays
" and contradicts himself. For, brother, had I formed the

"abominable design of poisoning you at my table, what could "be more ill judged than to exasperate you, and to put you "upon your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should "have discovered that I had designs of violence against you; "and, by that means, have prevented your coming to an en- "tertainment to which I had invited you, and at which you "accordingly refused to be present? But surely, after such "a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself "to you; and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison, "ought I not to have sought another opportunity for giving "you the fatal draught? Was it natural for me to change "suddenly, in one day, my barbarous design, and to attempt "to assassinate you, upon pretence of going to your house on "a party of pleasure? Could I reasonably flatter myself with "the hopes, taking it for granted that the fear of your being "murdered had made you refuse to come to my entertain- "ment, that the same fear would not induce you to refuse me "admittance into your house?

"I presume, Sir, I may confess to you without blushing, "that in a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in "company with some people of the same age with myself, "I drank more plentifully than usual. Inquire, I beseech "you, how we spent our time at the feast, how full of mirth "we were, how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very "much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for "the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is the "sad condition of an unforeseen accusation, it is the danger "in which I now see myself involved, that have dispelled but "too easily the fumes of wine; otherwise, a calm assassin, "my eyes had still been closed in slumbers. Had I formed "a resolution to attack your house with the view of murder- "ing you, would it not have been possible for me to abstain, "for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to keep my "companions from the like excess?

"But, that it may not be thought that I only act with "frankness and simplicity, let us hear my brother, whose "conduct is sincere and undisguised, and who does not har- "bour the least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and "the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came "armed to my house, upon pretence of engaging in a party "of pleasure. Should I ask you how you came to know "this, you will be forced to own, either that my house was "filled with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants had "taken up arms in so open a manner, that every one knew of

" it. What does my brother do? That he may not seem to " have formerly watched all my motions, nor, at this time, " to ground his accusation merely on suppositions, he be- " seeches you to inquire of those whom he shall name, whe- " ther people did not come armed to his house; in order that, " as if this were a doubtful circumstance, after this inquiry " into an incident which they themselves own and confess, " they may be considered as legally convicted. But is this " the question? Why do not you desire an inquiry to be made " whether they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they " did it with my knowledge, and at my request? For it is " this you pretend; and not what they themselves own pub- " licly, and which is very manifest, that they took up arms " in no other view but to defend themselves. Whether they " had or had not reason to arm themselves, that they are to " inform you. Do not blend and confound my cause with " theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate. Only tell " us, whether we really intended to attack you openly or by " surprise. If openly, why did we not all take up arms? Why " were those only armed who had insulted your spy? In case " it was to have been by surprise, in what manner would the " attack have been made? Would it have been at the end of " the feast in your house, and, after I had left it with my " company, would the four men in question have staid behind, " to have fallen upon you when asleep? How would it have " been possible for them, as they were strangers in my ser- " vice, to conceal themselves in your house; and as they " could not but be very much suspected, having been seen " but a few hours before, engaged in the quarrel? Again, sup- " posing they had found an opportunity to murder you, in " what manner could they have escaped! Could four men " armed have been able to make themselves masters of your " house?

" But, to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what " really pains you, and which you have so much at heart; " For what reason, methinks I hear my brother say, where- " fore, O Demetrius, do the people talk of making you king? " Why do some persons think you more worthy than I of " succeeding our father? Why do you make my hopes doubt- " ful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have " been established on the most solid foundation?——Such are " the reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though " he does not express himself in this manner: it is this raises " his enmity against me, and prompts him to charge me with

"such horrid attempts; it is this fills the palace, and every "part of the kingdom, with suspicions and accusations. If "it does not become me, Sir, so much as to hope the sceptre, "nor perhaps ever to think of contesting it, because it is your "will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother, "it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear un- "worthy of it, either to you *, my royal father, or to all the "Macedonians; a circumstance which nothing but my ill "conduct could occasion. I can, indeed, through modera- "tion, resign it to whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail "with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

"You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and "impute that to me for a crime, which ought to be my glo- "ry. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as an hos- "tage at first, nor afterwards as an ambassador; this, Sir, you "yourself very well know. When you ordered me to go "thither, I obeyed your commands; and I believe my con- "duct and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least "dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedo- "nian nation. It is therefore yourself, Sir, that occasioned "the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So "long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friend- "ship will subsist; but the moment the trumpet sounds for "war, though I have been an hostage among them, and exer- "cised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as "perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father; from "that moment, I say, I shall declare myself their enemy. I "do not desire to reap any benefit on the present occasion, "from the love which the Romans have for me; all I intreat "is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not be- "gun in war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As an hos- "tage and an ambassador, peace was my only object; let "that neither be considered in me as a crime or a merit.

"If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe you, "Sir, if I have formed any criminal enterprise against my "brother, let me be punished as I deserve; but if I am inno- "cent, this I claim, that as I cannot be convicted of the least "guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first "time that my brother has charged me with harbouring hor- "rid designs; but it is the first time he has attempted to do "it openly, though without the least foundation. Was my

* Instead of "indignus te patre," Gronovius reads, "indignus tibi, patre," which seems to agree better with the context.

" father exasperated against me, it would be your duty, as " the elder, kindly to intercede for your younger brother; to " solicit his pardon, to entreat that some regard might be " shown to his youth; and that a fault, which had been " committed merely through inadvertency, might be over- " looked. My ruin comes from that very quarter whence I " might naturally have expected my safety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feast and party of " pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to answer a " charge of fratricide; and am forced to plead my own cause, " unassisted by counsellors, and unsupported by the advice or " credit of a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of " another, I should have taken time to prepare and compose " my discourse; and yet, on such an occasion, my reputation " only would have laid at stake, and I should have had no- " thing to do but display my wit and eloquence.———At " this instant, without knowing the cause for which I am or- " dered to appear in this place, I hear an offended father, " commanding me to make my defence; and a brother, " charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus has " had all the time he could desire to prepare his accusation, " whilst unhappy I did not so much as know what the busi- " ness was, till the very instant the accusation was brought " against me. In this rapid moment, ought I to be more at- " tentive to my accuser, than studious of my own apology? " Surprised by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I could " scarce comprehend what was laid to my charge, so far from " being able to know how to make a defence. What hopes, " what refuge could I have left, did I not know that it is my " royal father who is to judge? He may show a greater affec- " tion for my brother, as the elder; but he owes more com- " passion to me, as being the party accused. I myself conjure " you to preserve my life for your own sake and mine; where- " as Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me to his safety. " What may you not naturally expect from him, when you " shall have once invested him with your authority, as he now " demands your favour in preference to me, at no less a price " than my blood?"

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be call- ed in again, he told them: " I will not pronounce sentence " on this affair, from mere words and a few transient speech-

"es, but from the inquiry I shall make into your conduct "from your behaviour in small as well as great things, and "from your words as well as actions." This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the wars, that appeared in Philip's lifetime, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

[h] The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to inquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to inquire secretly into what he had said there, particularly to Quintius, with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus' adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, his brother's accusation excepted, had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father, especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner; but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of Mount Hæmus, the Black Sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pœonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly;

h A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. xlix. n. 20.—24.

and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father, and offered to serve him to the utmost in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, for it was necessary to pass through Pœonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor; and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the letter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up Mount Hæmus, was returned with no better information from his inquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not, however, refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius' bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for "some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him, "with respect to the succession to the crown; assuring him, "that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the "ties of blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His

having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pœonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him, was the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pœonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas' domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

[i] Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him, to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the

i A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. xl. n. 54.—57.

* He was surnamed Doson.

crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought, and would from time to time sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus' conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined," says he, "Royal Sir, from several "things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you "greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought "to entertain of your two sons; and to discover which of "them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You "now have in your power the man who is best able to give "you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is "Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may com-"mand him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture

with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus, being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying with impunity the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus' recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the deplorable necessity of wishing "that my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befal them, the being childless, I now "am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to "the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. "And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, "I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that "Perseus should have it as the reward of his impious perfidy. "Methinks, I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and "restored to his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute "you in his place; you, who only bewailed the untimely "death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which "proved his destruction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness pro-

ceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling curses down on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep them in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus' history, which has scarce any connection with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECTION II.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. DISTURBANCES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

Seleucus Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of [k] Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnish-

k 2 Maccabees, iii.

ed, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus, his first minister, to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged, and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver, about fifty thousand pounds Sterling; and of two hundred talents of gold, three hundred thousand pounds Sterling. However, the minister sent from that prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposites, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the

Spirit * of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible mark; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus, falling from his horse, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without showing the leastsign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now some of Heliodorus' friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for "it is for his sake that the Lord has granted your life. Af- "ter having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole "world his miraculous power." Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered, "In case you have an enemy, or any traitorous "wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, "and you will see him return back quite flead with scourg- "ing, and he perhaps may die under it. For he who inha-

* Sed Spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

"biteth the heavens, is himself present in that place; he is "the guardian and protector of it; and he strikes those mor- "tally who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. [l] He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known, perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing; and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius, his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus' room. [m] During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, [n] "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the "glory of the kingdom; but within few * days he shall be de- "stroyed, neither in anger nor in battle." These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall arise up in his "place," of Antiochus, "a man who, as an extortioner, a col- "lector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy, "the glory of the kingdom." And indeed this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand † talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute exactly end with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

[o] Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the

l Appian. in Syriac. p. 116. m A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.
n Dan. xi. 20. o Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan.
* The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.
† About an hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling.

usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in righ of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretells every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the [p] "little horn which "was to issue out of one of the four large horns." I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here, chap xi. ver. 21. the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his (Seleucus) estate shall stand "up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour "of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain "the kingdom by flatteries." Antiochus' conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, "that to him they shall not "give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the West "peaceably, or "rather secretly," to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

[q] He assumed the title of Epiphanes, that is, the Illustrious; which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of "Epima-"nes, Mad or Furious," which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops; and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions, he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest

p Dan. viii. 9. q Athen. l. v. p. 193.

condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go, without saying a word to any person, and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe: and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair *; when, seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scour up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "Catch as catch can." At other times, he would leave his palace, dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head, and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said, and I omit a great many other particulars, I submit to the reader's judgement, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of Senseless, rather than that of Illustrious.

r Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, three hundred and sixty talents, about ninety thousand pounds Sterling, besides eighty more, about twelve thousand pounds, for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety

r A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

and justice, was deposed, and Jason, established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

[s] In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son, and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence.

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. [t] It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus, his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Issus, three provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces; that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cœlosyria and Palestine, had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of

s A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan.
t Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii.—lxxxii.

the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimera. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

[u] Ptolemy Philometer, being entered on his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city, and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

[x] The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the senate, from all the youths of Rome, and from persons of all ranks and conditions, during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate

u 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22. x Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

[y] Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard hearted, however, lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large, as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

[z] Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine, finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of these provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he

y A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. 2 Maccab. iv. 23. &c.

z A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi. lxii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the support of them; immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near Mount Casius and Pelusium; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt; after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

[a] During his stay there, three persons, deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; "an action," says the author of the Maccabees [b], "so very unjust, that before the Scythians, "they would have been judged innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

[c] This Ptolemy Macron, having been formerly governor of the island of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometer, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not hav-

a A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44.—50.
b 2 Maccab. iv. 47.
c Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. et iii. 38.

ing been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus' service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidents, made him governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostrates. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

[d] Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very centre of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis, and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometer was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

[e] Philometer made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any

d 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17.—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerp. Vales. p. 311.

e Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerp. Vales. p. 310.

thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave proofs of both, as the effects of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs; and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority, and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

[f] When Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which most exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold ot the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary, and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary,—all these were of gold; with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Anitoch laden with the spoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which to-

f 1 Maccab. i. 20.—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15.—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan

gether amounted to immense * sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty; he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of High-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

[g] Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phænomena in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who, forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

[h] The Alexandrians, seeing Philometer in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. [i] On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Cacergetes; the former signifying Beneficent, and the latter Malevolent. He afterwards was nicknamed † Physcon, or Tun-bellied, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. [k] Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the

g 2 Maccab. v. 2.—4. h A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Porphyr. in Grec. Euseb. Scalig. i Athen. l. iv. p. 184.
k Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxxi.

* We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple only eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent to about two hundred and seventy thousand pounds Sterling.

† Φύσκων, ventricosus, obesus, from Φύσκη, Crassum intestinum, venter.

army; and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken on the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometer. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Cœlosyria and Palestine; alleged the reasons we have related above; and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. [1] In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions,

1 Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc.

and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings, and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria: That, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: and that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

[m] A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in a few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject;

m Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv.

that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

[n] He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforwards be his interest to keep up an enmity, and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometer, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometer began at last to awake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus' design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometer returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometer to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts: and I before observed, that he

n Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

[o] The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was, able without the least inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thousand men, consequently so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they had now of aiding the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby

o Polyb. in Legat. lxxxix.—xci.

the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

[p] The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometer, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched towards Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at * Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The

[p] A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

* Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, "Eleusinem" instead of "Luesinem."

king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then, raising his voice; "Answer," says he, "the senate, "before you stir out of that circle." The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. * How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus' fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and returned to Rome in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "That the peace which the senate had been plea-"sed to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious "than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed "the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if

* Quam efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit.—Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

"they have been sent from the gods." How grovelling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "That the two Ptolemies and Cleo-"patra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to "the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even "to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which "Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege; and "re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which "they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience "to the ambassadors; and that the people and senate of Rome "were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered, "That the senate "were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them "some service; and that he would endeavour to make them "sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and "protection of the Romans, as the most solid support of their "kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECTION III.

ANTIOCHUS' PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE JEWS. HIS ARMIES LOSE SEVERAL VICTORIES. IS STRUCK BY THE HAND OF GOD.

ANTIOCHUS q, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty-two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the Sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the

q A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30.—40. and ii. ver. 24.—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices, not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

[r] As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seemed not to have been affected with the change of their worship, or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court

[r] 1 Maccab. i. 41.—64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1.—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives many fell from Israel [s]; and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became, as is but too common, greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant who was sent into Judæa and Samaria, to see that the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the Sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burned all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death whosoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels, filled with idols, were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over

[s] 1 Maccab. vi. 21.—24.

* They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel, "Jehovah," was never uttered by the Jews.

these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month in which the king was born, who made them eat swines flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

[t] One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed Gaddis; Simon, surnamed Thasi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazer, called Abaron; and Jonathan, called Apphus. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction, fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a just and holy indignation †, he fell upon the apostate, and killed him; after this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner, and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city, "‡ Whosoever is zealous of

t 1 Maccab. ii. 1.—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

* Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque a servitute legis patrum suorum, et consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.

† God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xii. ver. 6.—11.

‡ Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

"the law [u], and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were soon followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

[x] At first, when the Jews were attacked on the Sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the Sabbath was not binding on persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

[y] Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. [z] At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of the scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away: but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law, to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit

u 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

x 1 Maccab. ii. 31.—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

y A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. et v.

z 2 Mascab. c. vi. et vii.

them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired of him. "It would "be shameful," says he to them, "for me, at this age, to "use such an artifice, as many young men, upon the suppo- "sition that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of age, had "embraced the principles of the heathens, would be impos- "ed upon by such deceit, which I should have employed to "preserve the short remains of a corruptible life; and there- "by I should dishonour my old age, and expose it to the cur- "ses of all men. Besides, supposing I should by that means "avoid the punishment of men, I could never fly from the "hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor in that "which is to come. For this reason, if I lay down my life "courageously, I shall appear worthy of old age; and still "leave behind me, for the imitation of young people, an ex- "ample of constancy and resolution, by suffering patiently an "honourable death, for the sake of our venerable and holy "laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, than he was dragged to execution. The officers who attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said, "O Lord! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, "thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from "death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body, but in my "soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him; "What is it thou wouldst ask or have "of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than "violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers."

The king, being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, "The Lord God will have regard to truth; he will "have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his "song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the skin, were torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him; otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, "I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brothers. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: "Wicked prince, "you bereave us of this terrestrial life; but the King of hea-"ven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will "one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said: "I received these limbs from hea-"ven, but now I despise them, since I am to defend the laws "of God; from the sure and stedfast hopes that he will one "day restore them to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the monarch: "It is for our advan-"tage to be killed by men, because we hope that God will "restore us to life at the resurrection; but you, O king! will "never rise to life."

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus: "You now act according to your own will and plea-"sure, because you are invested with absolute human power, "though you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that "God has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you "will see the wondrous effects of his power; and in what "manner he will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who the moment before he expired said: "Do not deceive yourself: it is true, indeed, our sins "have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we now "suffer: but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of impu- "nity, after having presumed to make war against God him- "self."

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and, uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them: "I know not in what manner you were formed in my "womb; for it was not I who inspired you with a soul and "with life, nor formed your members: but I am sure that the "Creator of the world, who fashioned men, and who gave "being to all things, will one day restore you to life by his "infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, "out of the love you bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; assuring him with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him in her native language: "Son, have pity on "me; on me, who bore you nine months in my womb; "who for three years fed you with milk from my breasts, "and brought you up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, "to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they con- "tain, and firmly to believe that God formed them all, as "well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; but show "yourself worthy of your brethren, by submitting cheerfully "to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I may re- "ceive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which "awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud: "What is it you expect from me? I do not obey the "king's command, but the law which was given us by Mo- "ses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which "the Hebrews have been afflicted flow, you shall not escape "the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are "owing to our sins: but, if the Lord our God, to punish us;

"was for a little time angry with us, he at last will be ap-
"peased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you,
"the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter
"yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judge-
"ment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As
"to my brothers, after having suffered for a moment the most
"cruel torments, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the
"example they have set me, I freely give up my body and
"life for the laws of my forefathers: and I beseech God to
"extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you, by
"wounds and tortures of every kind, to confess that he is
"the only God; and that his anger, which has justly fallen
"on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of my
"brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

[a] Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president in the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin in the burying place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

[b] Antiochus, finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne, near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite the spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given him by Daniel[c], who calls him a vile or contemptible man; as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all: and many of

a A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq l. viii. c. 12.

b Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193. &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

c Dan. xi. 21.

them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refuse to go any more to the feast to which he invited them.

[d] He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Graechus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus' actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, besides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Graechus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses; for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself on the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

[e] Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he

d Polyb. Legat. 101—104. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.
e 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

[f] He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly the presents he bestowed on particular persons, and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should "[g] scatter among them the "prey and spoil of riches;" and the author of the [h] Maccabees says, that he had been exceeding liberal, and had "a-"bounded above the kings that were before him." We are told by [i] Athenæus, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometer in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends by way of free gifts; lastly, which was the most considerable article, the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

[k] Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, "from the tidings" which came to him "out of the East and "out of the North." For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. [l] There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance, by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished, and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the expences it was necessary to be at.

[m] To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts; to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and

f Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. g Dan. xi. 24.
h 1 Maccab. iii. 30. i Athen. l. v. p. 195.
k Dan. xi. 44. et Hieron. in hunc locum. l 1 Maccab. iii. 29.
m 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. et iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called * Antiochus Eupator. After passing Mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he there should find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength, by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas' success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, on which Judæa depended; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly, they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consist-

* He was then but seven years old.

ed of merchants who came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay * the two thousand talents which the king still owed to the Romans on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war, should be sold at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A resolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and an hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, as it was a very low price, flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons they should want to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

[n] Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side being very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. [o] They agreed, however, in one point; that is,

n Judges xx. 1. o 1 Reg. vii. 5.

* About three hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

† A thousand crowns.

both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one because they have a mighty army of well-disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the [p] law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire, Judas' six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless, this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But, receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops, and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of that very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion in every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas, and the men under his command, pursued them vigorously,

p Deut. xx. 5. &c.

and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers who were come as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners, and sold. The next day, being the Sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to an holy joy; and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battle depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty before the battle, "stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?" And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory," he had said above, "does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from "heaven that all our strength comes." But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, because all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.——We are still possessed, thanks to the Almighty, of generals who believe it glorious to entertain such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

[q] Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a greater number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him, to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus' lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.

q 2 Maccab. viii. 30.—33.

[r] Lysias, hearing of the ill success which Antiochus' arms had met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all chosen troops; and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Judas' soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending nevertheless to come and attack them again the next year, with a still more powerful body of forces.

[s] Judas being left master of the field by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

[t] This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jeru-

r A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26.—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

s 1 Maccab. iv. 35.—61, et v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1.—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

t A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1.—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1.—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

salem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunderstruck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news were there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lysias' defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in it, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachmen to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the colic. "Thus the murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most "grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable "death in a strange country in the mountains."

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock: so far from it, that, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, "[s] It is meet," says he, "to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should "not think of himself as if he were a god." Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jeru-

[s] 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

salem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in question, "[t] This wicked "person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have "mercy upon him." And indeed this murderer and blasphemer, these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of Illustrious, which men had bestowed on that prince, being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death *.

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

SECTION IV.

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL RELATING TO ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

As Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church; and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after ages,

[t] 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais.—Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

was to afflict the Christian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

1. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

"[y] And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand "up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of "the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain "the kingdom by flatteries." This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

"[z] And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) "be overflown before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and "shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant." Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the "prince of the "covenant," we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS' FIRST EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

"[a] And after the league made with him," with Ptolemy Philometer his nephew, king of Egypt, "he shall work de-"ceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong "with a small people." Antiochus, though he was already

y Dan. xi. 21. z Ver. 22. a Ver. 23.

determined on the war; "yet he shall assume a specious ap-"pearance of friendship for the king of Egypt." He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a small army, in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was strongest, that is, victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

ANTIOCHUS' SECOND EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

"[b] He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of "the province," Egypt, "and he shall do that which his "fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he shall scat-"ter among them," his troops, "the prey and spoil and "riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the "strong holds, even for a time."

"[c] And he shall stir up his power and his courage against "the king of the South," of Egypt, "with a great army, "and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with "a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for "they shall forecast devices against him."

"[d] Yea, they that feed on the portion of his" the king of Egypt's "meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall over-"flow; and many shall fall down slain."

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus' second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practice with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. "[e] Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, "with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great "navy.——And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: "but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were "wounded to death.———Thus they got the strong cities "in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof."

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

Dan. xi. 24. c Ver. 25. d Ver. 26. e 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

"[f] And at the time of the end shall the king of the South "push at him;" Ptolemy is here hinted at; "and the king of "the North," Antiochus," shall come against him like a "whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with "many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall "overflow and pass over."

"[g] He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many "countries shall be overthrown: but he shall escape out of "his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the chil-"dren of Ammon."

"[h] He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, "and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

"[i] But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and "of silver, and over the precious things of Egypt," &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

[k] Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that "[l] which his forefathers had not done, nor his "father's fathers."

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship, with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. [m] "They that feed of the portion of his meat shall "destroy him."

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time, the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometer for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes, his younger brother, to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexan-

f Dan. xi. 40. g Ver. 41. h Ver. 42. i Ver. 43.
k In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310. l Dan. xi. 44. m Ver. 45.

dria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS' THIRD EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

"And [n] both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief; "and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not pros- "per; for the end shall be at the time appointed."

"[o] Then shall he," Antiochus, "return into his land with "great riches."

Antiochus' third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometer: "[p] Per ho- "nestum specimen majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum." After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword: "[q] Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat." They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew: "[r] Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simula- "bat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur;" and the nephew, who saw through his design, "voluntatis ejus non ignarus," strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving the other; nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS' FOURTH EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

"[s] At the time appointed he shall return and come to- "ward the South; but it shall not be as the former, or as the "latter."

"[t] For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: there-

n Dan. xi. 27. o Ver. 28. p Liv. l. xliv. n. 22. q Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan. r Liv. Ibid. s Dan. xi. 29. t Ver. 30.

" fore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation " against the holy covenant."

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, " he returned towards the South," that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. [u] As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies, which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but " with the utmost reluctance, and " made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects " of his indignation," as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. CRUEL PERSECUTION EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I HAVE mentioned, and explained in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

" [x] Behold an he-goat came from the West, on the face of " the whole earth, and touched not the ground."——Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? " [y] The he-goat waxed very great, and " when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it " came up four notable ones towards the four winds of hea- " ven." These are Alexander's four successors. " [z] And out " of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed ex- " ceeding great, toward the South, and toward the East, and " toward the pleasant land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the South, and the East, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

u Liv. l. xiv. n. 10. x Dan. viii. 5. y Ver. 8. z Ver. 9.

" [a] And it waxed great," the horn, " even to the host of " heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars " to the ground, and stamped upon them.——[b] Yea, he mag- " nified himself even to the prince of the host," to God; " and " by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of " his sanctuary was cast down.——[c] And an host was given " him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and " it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and " prospered."

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

" [d] His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he " shall do exploits.——He shall return and have indignation " against the holy covenant."

[e] During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

[f] After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

" [g] He shall return and have intelligence with them that " forsake the holy covenant.——And arms shall stand on his part; and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and " shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the " abomination that maketh desolate.——And such as do " wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatte- " ries," &c.

[h] Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which

a Dan. viii. 10. b Ver. 11.
c Ver. 12. d Dan. xi. 28, 30.
e 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. et ii. 5—21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.
f 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. et ii. 24—26. g Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.
h 1 Maccab. I. xliii. &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7. &c. vi. I. &c.
* We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them, and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

"[i] And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he," Antiochus, "corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do "know their God, shall be strong and do exploits." This manifestly points out old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

"[k] And they that understand among the people, shall in- "struct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, "by captivity, and by spoil many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

"[l] Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a "little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries." Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

"[m] And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try "them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the "time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed." The sufferings and death of those who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

"[n] And the king shall do according to his will, and he "shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, "and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, "and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for "that that is determined, shall be done."

"[o] Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the "desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify "himself above all."

i Dan. xi. 32. k Ver. 33. l Ver. 34. m Ver. 35.
n Ver. 36. o Ver. 37.

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

"[q] But tidings out of the East, and out of the North, shall "trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to "destroy, and utterly to make away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the East, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

"[r] He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace," [† in Apadno] "between the seas in the glorious holy mountain" [of Zabi]; "yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help "him." This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which were not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kinds of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus' expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares, that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi, doubtless the same with Taba ‡,

p Dan xi. 44. q 1 Maccab. iii. 31.—39. r Dan. xi. 45.

* Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est; nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat.—Tacit. l. v. c. 8.

† *N. B.* The words between the crotchets in this verse are not in our English translation of the Bible.

‡ Taba, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintus Curtius.

"where, according to [s] Polybius, he died, and that there he "shall come to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none "to help him." We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck to see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretell a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the Spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the Scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. * Porphyry, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity; for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the Scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as

s Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in them; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? "[t] Thy testimonies are very sure———O Lord, for ever."

t Psal. xciii. 5.

BOOK NINETEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burned in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometer, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECTION I.

PERSEUS PREPARES FOR WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS. HE ENDEAVOURS A RECONCILIATION WITH THE ACHÆANS.

THE death of Philip [a] happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to

[a] A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution; which was to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce; they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed taking every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it; if it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befell them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negociating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ [b] had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any further inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the

b A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Friensheim in Liv.

treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome [c], that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia, to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal intention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was

[c] A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. xli. n. 27.—29.

* Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not: That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a reunion would be precipitate and dangerous.

Archon, Xenarchus' brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilst "the peace subsists, if animosities and dissentions are not "made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend "them, and to sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors [d], sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their

d A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes, in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference: whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus[e] was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of

e Polyb. Legat. 40. 41.

Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome, in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

[f] The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome, to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans: That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings: That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias: That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates: That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans: That, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dis-

[f] A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11.—14.

pense with any foreign aid: That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years: That besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom: That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts founded upon the best information. "For the rest," said he in concluding, "having discharged "the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman "people made indispensible, and delivered my conscience, it "only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, "that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures "consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preser- "vation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends "upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except what king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master; and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour: That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which those embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very

agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus, [g] having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began by declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one, who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of Mount Parnassus. His officers found him, when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and, looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches on that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

g Liv. l. xlii. n. 15.—29.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundusium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtile poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes [h] was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could

h Liv. l. xlii. n. 25.—27.

not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies, of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia, through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings, their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as

well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed on the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped, if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious desires. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him, out of policy, from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace was universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts, and the bad estate of their affairs, made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace; because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army, and that, if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans [i] omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had, besides, a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, which were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of com-

[i] Liv. l. xlii. n. 37. 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

plaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am * assured," said he in concluding, "that my conscience does not "reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, "and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if "I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it "is in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am "pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous "crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must "be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of "the Roman people is universally extolled, if for such slight "causes as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they "take up arms, and make war upon kings in alliance with "them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or generals in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

* Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; et si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela et expostulatione dignæ sunt, armo capitis, et regibus sociis bella infertis.—Liv.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed, through a long course of time, a republic, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa, and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent [k] new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called), had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity: So that, upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius,

k Liv. l. xlii. n. 45. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.—lxviii.

sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators, only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take.——"If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be," said he, "the mediators between the two nations. All the world is "interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not only of your own, but the liberty of "all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for so great "a good, the more you ought to be upon your guard against "whosoever should attempt to inspire you with different "sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means "* to reduce Greece into slavery, is to make it dependent "upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have "recourse to." The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, that in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors were also sent into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few [1] small cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who

1 Coronæa and Haliartus.

* Cum cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus.—Liv.

had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That, indeed, stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public, and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five-and-forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

SECTION II.

LICINIUS AND PERSEUS TAKE THE FIELD. THE LATTER HAS AT FIRST CONSIDERABLY THE ADVANTAGE.

THE consul Licinius [m], after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every individual might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of curiosity to see the general to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate "of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him "with his victorious army return in triumph to the Capitol, "from whence he sets out, after having offered up his pray-"ers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in "his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus: and every body knew, from his succession to the crown, a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, or as colonels or brigadiers, and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundusium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained

[m] A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171.

no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition, not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor land that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond Mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against the Romans. That prudence requires Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether, by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another. he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask as a favour from the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire: or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious, than to give up empire without resistance; nor more laudable, than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Mace-

donia. "Since you think it so necessary," said the king, "let us make war then, with the help of the gods." He gave orders at the same time to his generals, to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that design a sudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negociating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his sense, was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains, therefore, Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to act with the same courage your ances-
"tors showed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they

"crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms, with your king and his kingdom, to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of Mount Oeta; the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus; Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important

place. The allies sent also other troops, though in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some gallies. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, Eumenes and Attalus being present, a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near, with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very nearly equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's

troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a great number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarce find belief that the enemy was so near; because, for several days before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The consul, having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with

the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a select body of horse; two hundred Gallic horse, and three hundred of Eumenes' troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began with the slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently, and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Happias and Deonatus, having learned the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, be-

tween hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, * Evander of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he should chuse to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return to the camp.

The Romans lost two thousand of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot soldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the ends of their pikes; it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault, to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut of at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy; it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgement nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A motion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of men, and who wills the destruction of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take contrary measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seemed to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: "And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awak-"ed: For they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from "the Lord was fallen upon them," 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, one thousand cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and

darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, That what had happened was an happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from hence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situated between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day; at first, in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security, but by being inclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the

inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, [m] taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity: That therefore he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip: That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions: That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnessess of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he ever was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the cousul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him, they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy showed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom * at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, That no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to

m Polyb. Legat. lxix.

* Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.—Liv.

the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia [o]. After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their

[o] Liv. l. xlii. n. 64.—67.

troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheaves of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the best horse of the troop called the Sacred Squadron, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action reanimated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul, having reduced Perrhœbia, and taken Larissa, and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECTION III.

MARCIUS ENTERS MACEDONIA. PERSEUS TAKES THE ALARM; BUT AFTERWARDS RESUMES COURAGE.

NOTHING memorable passed the following year [p]. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that coun-

p A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. 10.

try as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was [q] the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempted from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority pre-

[q] Polyb. Legat. 74. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

vented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which they were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who, determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes his brother should be restored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome[r] sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment; Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master

r A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11. et 18.—23. Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry, and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from being considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report [s] that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Poly-

s Polyb. Legat. lxx.

bius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus, [t] who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much design.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country, called Octolapha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make but to pursue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determined perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

t Liv. l. xliv. n. 1.—10.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble; it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on, to as many of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

[s] As the consul seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good-will in the kindest terms, told them they might spare themselves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius' colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage

[s] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæans, or laying a snare for them? or did he intend to put it out of Appius' power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. The news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent * the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures, laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his gallies at Thessalonica burned. For himself, he returned to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him but by two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia: and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king: So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him: For the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which † would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived

* These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

† Quod nisi dii mentem regi admissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.—Liv.

Perseus of prudence and counsel. For, in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of Mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short. But in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships in Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened; Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject

terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius[u] returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, Appius' letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achæans the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns at least.

In the mean time[x] arrived ambassadors at Rome, from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added,—That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus: that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side: that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it: that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island

u Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. x Liv. l. xliv. n. 14, 15, 16.

found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce: that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they had also sent to Rome to make the same declaration: that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say, the senate answered in few words, That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marius' letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers: that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this, they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils,

under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECTION IV.

ÆMILIUS' CELEBRATED VICTORY NEAR THE CITY OE PYDNA. PERSEUS TAKEN PRISONER, WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN.

The time for the Comitia [z], or the assemblies to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond Mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgement, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty

z A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgement, more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship; but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing among those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all his people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who, on seeing him, fell a-crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, "You "do not know then," said she, "that our Perseus is dead, "papa." She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perseus. "And at a very good time, my dear child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word, "I accept this "omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner [a] in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commis-

a Liv. l. xliv. n. 18, 22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

sioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprised of all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipæus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige them to fight, nor to force his lines: that, to the other inconveniencies, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: and if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he

was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases: that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers: that those who remained, had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause: and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: but that, as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men; that is, of two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had besides six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together, made fifty-six thousand two hundred men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served; and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth and seniority, to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions; which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner: "You seem to me, "Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell "to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon "that office; and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by "the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy "of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a "war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long "continuance. I have reason to believe that the same gods *, "who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also "assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully: but of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your "expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing "necessary in the expedition I am charged with, and as I "am ordered to set out immediately, I shall make no delay, "and I know that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great "zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the "troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the divinity presides over chance.

" all that passes: and you may rely upon the certainty and " truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as a great favour, " that you will not give credit to, or lay any weight, out of " credulity, upon the light reports which are frequently spread " abroad without any author. I perceive well, that in this " war, more than any other, whatever resolution people may " form to obviate these rumours, they will not fail to make " impression, and inspire I know not what discouragement. " There are those who, in company, and even at table, com- " mand armies, make dispositions, and prescribe all the ope- " rations of the campaign. They know better than we where " we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to " seize; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to " enter Macedonia; where it is proper to have magazines; " from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provi- " sions; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. " They not only prescribe what is best to do, but for deviat- " ing ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in " their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, " Romans, this is of very bad effect with your generals. All " have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise " impertinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the " people, upon such unhappy rumours, to invade his authority, " than to ruin affairs, in order to preserve their opinion, and an " empty name. I am far from believing, that generals stand " in no need of advice; I think, on the contrary, that whoever " would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, " and without council, shows more presumption than pru- " dence. But some may ask, How then shall we act reason- " ably? In not suffering any person to obtrude their advice " upon your generals, but such as are, in the first place, " versed in the art of war, and have learned from experience " what it is to command; and, in the second, who are upon " the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to " all that passes, and share with us in all dangers. If there " be any one who conceives himself capable of assisting me " with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, " let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but " let him go with me into Macedonia; ships, horses, tents, " provisions, shall all be supplied him at my charge. But if " he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquil- " lity of the city to the danger and fatigues of the field, let " him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle " in the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter

"of discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be "silent upon them; and know, that we shall pay no regard "to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp "itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals; and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: To reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? To justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgement without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgement as business.

Paulus Æmilius, [b] after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money, that is, three hundred thousand crowns, and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by

b Liv. l. xliv. n. 23.—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv. lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both these kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another; and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally

inclined to peace; Perseus, from the fear of the misfortunes which might befal him; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents, fifteen hundred thousand crowns. The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse, and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops; and gave orders, that in towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed among a small number: He imagined to gain the multitude by this bait The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that,

question; "Go," said he, "and let your prince know, that "till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls "will not stir from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, wh. had made them come so far, to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no more provisions, as before, from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty with the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents, ten thousand

crowns, in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus' ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrians repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journeys, and when they arrived on the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans, by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights, human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expence of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius' feet to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory; and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the license wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several

things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe his conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his provisions *, that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises: so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing Mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface † was scarce broke up, when

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

† Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigenes turbidæ primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque; res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit.—Liv.

springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news; but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought, the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To show how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly, perhaps upon account of provisions; for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus.

They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation, as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times, the soldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of Mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.

ten days provisions with him for a thousand men; in order to make Perseus believe, that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their route by the sea-coast, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost abundantly more people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day, near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers,

with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspence. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniences, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons reanimated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantages of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind, resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in

flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season, for it was then about the end of summer, but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate on what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to intreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon Mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays: That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses, through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him, therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I "thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I "do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another "time; at present, satisfy yourself, and rely upon the dis-"cretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, convinced that the consul had good reason for acting as he did.

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the [c] pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp.

[c] Hastati Principes Triarii.

As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans decline fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to inclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for a retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and showed them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers, therefore, were not astonished at this accident; they only believed, that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself,

* Majoris vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt.—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium.—Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.

without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of one hundred oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably, by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-entrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here *, that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general: the former have only to desire and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius,

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sæpius quam temeritate proficere.—Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt of the success of the battle. But, not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into disorder, the se-

cond was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but instead of advancing, they retreated toward Mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; on the contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face the enemy; whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there, also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius' son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut in pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that twenty-five thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army

went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and crowns of laurel *.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction, of whom his son Fabius was one, to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment further, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of

* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes, in the third book of the civil war, "That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy.—L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera."

those who attended him took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul, having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped [d] at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting;"

d Liv. l. xlv. n. 3.—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

the stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, named Acilius, either of himself or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, "or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and "inviolable asylum, throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered, by all present, that it was undoubtedly so, "How "then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be vio-"lated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of "king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by "the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can "you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the "presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that sen-

tence. He had his reasons for giving this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant-ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair was inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had entrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself, and Philip his son, to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his

being carried to the consul, having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival, rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, "What cause of discontent had "induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war "with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his "kingdom to the greatest danger?" When, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence, Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you ascended the "throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ig- "norant of what it was to have the Roman people for your "friends or enemies. But having been present in the war "made by your father against us, and certainly remember- "ing the peace, which we have punctually observed on our "side, how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a "people, whose force, in the former, and fidelity in the lat- "ter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question, "In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding," resumed the consul, "these affairs have happened; whether they are the ef- "fects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, "or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take "courage. The clemency with which the Roman people "have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, "ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, "but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with "the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then, turning towards the Romans, "You * see," said he in his own language, "a great example of the inconstancy of "human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I "address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may hap-

* "Exemplum insigne cernitis," inquit, "mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet.—Liv.

"pen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any "one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely "too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real "merit and true valour is, neither to be too elate in good, "nor too dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus [e] had reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than one hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus,

e Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth; Justin the thirteenth. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth with Eusebius.

used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in their Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps a presage of victory, which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed the republic.

After the nomination of [f] new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who are under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Romans; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever such sort * of farmers are suffered, the laws

[f] A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17. 18.

* Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem sociis esse.—Liv.

are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation; lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions: each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius, having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia [g] arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpitius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes' brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, "That the vanquished ought to give place to the "victors."

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercyma, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

g Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulus, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or the art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have not only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a

word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias' master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that "This Jupiter of "Phidias was the exact Jupiter of † Homer." Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac sensit.—Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

† To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpitius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners [h] being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate, and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged; that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands and houses, out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them; but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending of a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

[i] The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were over, [k] Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them

h Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.
i Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. k Ibid. n. 32.

was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs [1] succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgement and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quiv-

1 Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

ers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be disposed of in forms of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for this occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness, for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus' library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not possess a contempt for learning, nor believed it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius [m] had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks; and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

m Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and at ten of the clock the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds Sterling, four hundred denarii, and each of the foot about five pounds, two hundred denarii.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius, having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgement of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being[n] arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus' galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a

[n] Liv. l. xlv. n. 35.—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of discipline, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by their avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian History. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only at an hundred thousand crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Besides these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him

* The talent weighed sixty pounds.

the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The favour he asks of me is in his own power, "he can procure it for himself." He reproached, in those few words, his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than his late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom; that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

END OF VOLUME FIFTH.

JOHN PILLANS, Printer, Edinburgh.